THE

HISTO

OF

WAL

IN NINE BOO

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BESBOROUGH.

"Wherever Nature, though in narrow ſpace,
Foſters, by Freedom's aid, a liberal race;
Sees Virtue ſave them from Oppreſſion's den,
And cries, with exultation, 'Theſe are men;'
Though in Bæotia or Batavia born,
Their deeds the ſtory of the world adorn."

HAYLEY'S ESSAY on HISTORY.

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MDCCLXXXVI.

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,

IN WHOSE PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER

ARE PRESERVED UNIMPAIRED,

THE HONOURS OF A FAMILY

ILLUSTRIOUS BY DESCENT,

AND

DISTINGUISHED, THROUGH SEVERAL AGES,

FOR A STEADY AND TEMPERATE ADHERENCE

TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LIBERTIES

OF GREAT BRITAIN,

AS WELL AS EXEMPLARY FOR THE

MILDER VIRTUES OF PRIVATE LIFE,

THIS HISTORY

OF A PEOPLE WHO LONG DEFENDED

THE RIGHTS OF NATURE AND OF FREEDOM,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT

AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

P R E F A C E.

THE circumſtances and actions of the People, whoſe hiſtory is related in this work, ſtand ſingle and original in the annals of the world. A nation, who, from remote antiquity, were diſtinguiſhed by their independency of ſpirit, defending for ages the rights of nature and of liberty in the boſom of their native mountains, affords a ſpectacle ſufficiently intereſting, to awaken curioſity, to excite admiration, and to call forth every liberal ſentiment.

IT is therefore a juſt occaſion of regret, as well as of ſurpriſe, that the Hiſtory of Wales is no where to be found, to this day, but in the Chronicle of the monk Caradoc of Llancarvan; in which nothing farther is given, than a ſimple detail of facts. In this intereſting field of hiſtory, no attempt has yet been

been made, to inveſtigate the motives of policy, to trace back effects to their cauſes, to delineate with juſt diſcrimination perſonal or national characters, and to digeſt the materials of the narration into that perſpicuous order which is eſſential to the utility of hiſtorical writing.

This deficiency, the author has attempted to ſupply, in the work now offered to the world. The deſign will be allowed to be laudable; with what ſucceſs it has been executed, it remains for the public to determine. If he has opened no new ſources of information, he has been careful to examine the old; and has not ſervilely tranſcribed, or implicitly followed the modern hiſtorians. What he has done, neither precludes, nor is intended to preclude, the future labours of other writers who are deeply read in the Welſh language and manuſcripts. The field is ſtill open to a more able hiſtorian, and to the profound reſearches of the learned antiquary.

From an idea, that minute inquiries into the antiquities of a country are not properly within the province of the general hiſtorian, the author has purpoſely declined them; and therefore hopes he ſhall not be charged with deficiency, in not having

having executed what it was never his intention to undertake.

It is not the leaſt praiſe of an hiſtorian, that his writings do not diſcover his country: leſt from the ſentiments which breathe through the following pages the author ſhould be thought to have failed in this eſſential point, he thinks it neceſſary to declare that he is an Engliſhman; and whatever preponderancy may be diſcovered in this work to the ſide of the Welſh, it is neither the partiality of an author to his ſubject, nor the prejudice of a native; but the voluntary tribute of juſtice and humanity to the cauſe of injured liberty.

WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

TABLE

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING a Review of the British History before the Retreat of the Romans out of Britain - Page 1.

BOOK II.

Containing a Review of the British History from the final Retreat of the Romans, to that period when the ancient Britons were driven into Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica - P. 31.

BOOK III.

Containing an Account of the Wars between the Saxons and Welsh, to the Death of Roderic the Great - P. 85.

BOOK IV.

From the Death of Roderic the Great to the Death of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn - - - - - - P. 151.

BOOK

BOOK V.

From the Death of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn to the Death of Gryffydh ap Cynan. - - - - - Page 235.

BOOK VI.

From the Death of Gryffydh ap Cynan to the Accession of Llewelyn ap Jorwerth - - - - P. 301.

BOOK VII.

From the Accession of Llewelyn ap Jorwerth to the Death of David ap Llewelyn - - - - P. 347.

BOOK VIII.

From the Accession of Owen and Llewelyn the Sons of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, to the Death of Llewelyn ap Gryffydh P. 427.

BOOK IX.

From the Accession of David ap Gryffydh to the entire Conquest of Wales, and the Departure of Edward out of that Country P. 515.

APPENDIX.

A short Account of the Welsh from the Conquest, to the complete Union of the two Nations in the Reign of Henry the Eighth;

WITH

Ancient Memorials of the Welsh Princes to Henry the Third and to Edward the First.

Necessary DIRECTIONS *to the* READER *who is a Stranger to the* WELSH LANGUAGE; *shewing the* RIGHT PRONUNCIATION *of all the* LETTERS *that differ from the* ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY.

TO read Welsh, a right Knowledge of the Alphabet is all that is necessary; for, (not going to a nicety) all the Letters retain one invariable Sound, which must be distinctly pronounced, as there are no Mutes. Letters that are circumflexed must be pronounced long, as *Bôn* like the English Bone; *Bŵn*, Boon; *Bin*, Been, &c.

C, as *C* English in *Can*; but never soft as in *City*.

Ch, as the Greek χ properly pronounced. If instead of touching the Palate with the Tip of the Tongue to pronounce K, you touch it with the Root, it will effect this sound.

Dd, as *TH* English in *Them*; that is very soft; not hard as in *Thought*.

F, as *V* English.

Ff, as *F* and *Ff* English.

G, as *G* English in *God*, but never soft as in *Genius*.

I, as *I* English in *King*, and *ee* in *Been*; but never as *I* in *Fine*. Fine, according to the Welsh Orthography, would be pronounced Veenè.

Ll, as *L* Aspirated; and can be represented in English only by Lh or Llh.

Th, as *Th* English in *Thought*; but never soft as in *Them*.

U, as *I* English in *Bliss*, *This*, *It*, &c.

W, as *Oo* English in *Good*.

Y, as *U* English in *Burn*, though in the last Syllable of a Word, and all Monosyllables, except Y, Ydd, Ym, Yn, Yr, Ys, Fy, Dy, Myn, it is like I in Sin, It, &c. both its Powers are nearly shewn in the Word Sundry, or Syndry.

E R R A T A.

Page 13, note on London, for *Dias* read *Dinas.*
23, line 9, for *Branap-Llyr* read *Bran-ap-Llyr.*
24, 10, for *constantly* read *instantly.*
40, 13, for *Constantius* read *Constans.*
54, 12, for *Leon* read *Lleon.*
55, 16, for *Ludd* read *Lludd.*
58, 19, for *unwarned* read *unarmed.*
68, 21, for *Casswallon-law-Kir* read *Casswallon-law-hir.*
73, 11, for *Cattur* read *Cattwr.*
76, 2, for *Cerdic-leak* read *Cerdic leah.*
86, second line in the note, for *Legan-lestre* read *Legan-Cestre.*
88, line 10, for *Meredyth* read *Meredydh.*
105, 6, for *Rhydd-lan* read *Rhudd-lan.*
127, 3, for *were rated*, &c. read *which were rated.*
138, 5, for *the dignity* read *that dignity.*
152, 9, for *Cantrefs* read *Cantrevs.*
153, 16, for *Merionith* read *Meirionydh.*
154, 17, for *Caer Run* read *Caer Rhun.*
157, 7, for *Tegengh* read *Tegengl.*
185, in the note, for *Blethyn* read *Bleddyn*; for *Hoel* read *Howel.*
207, line 16, for *into the charge* read *on to the charge.*
222, 15, for *his country* read *the country.*
236, 20, for *march* read *marched.*
240, 19, for *hailed them* read *hated them.*
282, 5, for *Rhys* read *Gryffydh ap Rhys.*
377, 22, for *and* read *an.*
379, 6, for *bearing* read *bearing of.*
403, 8, for Criccaeth read *Cricieth.*
406, 12, for *attended with* read *attended by.*
412, 24, for *or forfeiture* read *of forfeiture.*

Appendix, No. 1. to be inserted at the bottom of page 413, and connected with the letter h, instead of page 416.

Page 427, title of book VIII. for *the last prince of Wales* read *Llewelyn ap Gryffydh.*
428, line 5, for *Rhovoniac* read *Rhyvoniac.*
430, 22, for *with an affected* read *with an afflicted.*
485, 22, for *Plam Sunday* read *Palm Sunday.*
489, 20, no comma between the lords Audley and Clifford, but after Clifford.
555, 18, for *as it is natural* read *and as it is natural.*

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

WALES.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY BEFORE THE RETREAT OF THE ROMANS OUT OF BRITAIN.

IT is probable, that Britain was first colonised by the Gauls;[1] about one thousand years before the birth of our Saviour;[2] a period of time coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon. The names of Albion,[3] and of Britain,[4] are supposed to have been given to the island by the Belgic Gauls, who inhabited the opposite shores.

[1] Verstegan, cap. IV. p. 88. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum historia, p. 67. Amsterdam edit.

[2] Whitaker's history of Manchester, second edit. vol. I. p. 7. [3] ibid. p. 10.

[4] On the etymology of this name, see ibid. p. 11. and Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 8. N. B. He wrote in the year 1568.

It is common to people who derive their ideas from the few objects which arise in a state of nature, to give names to persons and things, from the peculiar circumstances incident to them. Accordingly, the Gauls gave this country the name of Albion, from the eminences and chalky cliffs, which were constantly exposed to their view.[1]

It was somewhat more than three centuries before the Roman invasion of Britain, that the northern tribes of Europe began that spirit of emigration, which afterwards like a deluge overwhelmed the western world. It was likewise about that period, that the Belgæ, forsaking their native seats upon the banks of the Rhine, migrated into Britain,[2] and settled in the western, and some of the southern parts of the island.[3]

The language of the ancient Britons, their religion and Druidical institutions, as well as their attachment to that order of men called Beirdhs, were exactly similar to those which prevailed among their probable ancestors the Gauls.[4]

[1] Whitaker's Hist of Manchester, second edit. p. 10.

[2] Rowland's Mona Antiqua, Dublin edit. sect. IV. p. 19.

[3] Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, second edit. p.232. Buchanan Hist. Scot. Rer. p. 55.

[4] Buchanan's Hist. Scot. Rer. p. 53, 67.

Before the time of Cæſar's invaſion, the iſland was divided into three parts, Lhoegria or England, Albania or Scotland, and Cambria or the province of Wales;[1] and each of theſe were ſubdivided into diſtricts under their reſpective *Reguli*, each of whom preſided with a limited authority.[2] The principles of civil liberty are diſcerned in the polity of ancient Britain, in the reſtraint which was laid upon the ſovereign power by general aſſemblies, whoſe concurrence with the royal authority was neceſſary to enact or to abrogate laws. The order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſh ſtates was commonly hereditary; the idea of indefeaſible right had not, in that early period, affected the principles of government; for the line of ſucceſſion was frequently broken by the king and nobility, whoſe concurrence for this purpoſe was abſolutely neceſſary.[3] The diviſion of property by *Gavel kind* uniformly took place in the diſpoſition of private inheritance.[4]

Such was the regulation of the Britiſh ſtates in times of tranquillity, when no foreign or domeſtic danger threatened the public ſafety. But in ſeaſons of emergency, when the

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 10.

[2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 171. Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, ſecond edit. vol. I. p. 336. vol. II. p. 6, 92, 206.

[3] Whitaker, ibid. vol. I. p. 335. [4] ibid. p. 363.

common-weal called for the union which results from the government of one head, the confederated princes elected a supreme sovereign;[1] and the person who was called to this dignity had the title of *Brenhin Prydain Oll* or the king of all Britain.[2] This occasional honour, by a maxim of state, was originally confined to one Imperial line; and in later times was continued through its two branches, the *Cynethian* and *Cornwal* families, till it finally closed in the person of Cadwalader, the last king of the Britons. As unlimited authority was vested in the supreme sovereign, it is probable, that the Britons did not suffer such a power to continue beyond the time of necessity and danger.

About fifty years before the Christian Æra.

The love of glory, like every other passion, is heightened by indulgence, and becomes insatiate in proportion to the extent and variety of conquests. Under the impulse of this spirit, Julius Cæsar came into Britain; but the season of the year not allowing him to extend his conquests, he concluded a peace, having taken hostages for its observance, and suddenly embarked in the night for Gaul.[4] The next spring he returned with a considerable reinforcement. On this occasion, Cassivellaunus was vested with the supreme command of the war, by a general assembly of the British States. Having received considerable losses, his territories

[1] Rowland, p. 171. Whitaker ibid. Vol. I. p. 206, 207.
[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 171. [3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 171.
[4] Cæsar's Commentaries, Grævius' edit. lib. IV. p. 145, 154.

having

having been laid waſte, and eſpecially being alarmed at the revolt of the auxiliary Britons, he was ſoon after obliged to ſue for peace.[1] Before that time Cæſar had marched into the country as far as the Thames,[2] and having forded that river near Windſor, he ſtormed Verulamium,[3] the principal town in the territory of Caſſivellaunus. After this expedition, being afraid of commotions in Gaul, he received the ſubmiſſion of the Britons, and taking with him hoſtages for the ſecurity of the peace, returned to the continent.[4]

The death of Cæſar, with the ſucceeding troubles in the Empire, gave a long peace to the Britons; which was continued through the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, occaſioned by the rational policy of reſtricting the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

The great preparations which Caligula made for the invaſion of Britain, ended in a vain parade upon the ocean, and in offering inſult to the dignity of a Roman Senate.[5] Ann. Dom. 40.

1 Cæſar's Comment. Græviu s, edit. lib. V. p. 176. 2 Taſwyſe or Tame Water.

3 Verolanum takes it name from the river VVer, called in Britiſh Guernhan, Caer Municipium by the Romans, and Verlamceſter by the Saxons, by whom it was deſtroyed. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

4 Cæſar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. V. p. 161, 164, 165, 175, 176.

5 Dion Caſſius Leunclavii edit. lib. LIX. p. 659.

In

In the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Romans gained a permanent footing in the Iſland, owing to the diviſions, which had ever ſubſiſted among the Britons. The Belgic inhabitants, who were engaged in commerce, and reſided in the towns of the Iſle of Wight,[1] and the counties upon the weſtern coaſt, were with ſome difficulty ſubdued by Veſpaſian;[2] but the native Britons, more independent and brave from their different habits of life, continued their reſiſtance againſt Plautius and Oſtorius Scapula, who ſuc-
Ann. Dom. 45. ceſſively commanded the Roman forces. Plautius, on his arrival in his government, defeated the Britons in ſeveral actions; but finding that his victories proved indeciſive, and ſeeing them prepared for further reſiſtance, he deſired the Emperor would take in perſon the command of the forces.[3] When Claudius joined the army, which lay encamped on the banks of the Thames, he found the paſſage of that river diſputed; but the Britons were at length obliged to give way, and he advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and took the ſtrong fortreſs of Camulodunum, which had been the reſidence of Conobeline. Theſe fortunate events were immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion, or the conqueſt, of other nations. When the affairs

[1] Called Wight by the Saxons but Gwydh by the Britons, ſignifying, a conſpicuous place. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 17.

[2] Suetonius, Oxford edit. Book VIII. p. 240.

[3] Dion Caſſius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

of

of the Provinces were ſettled, the Emperor returned to Rome, leaving the newly ſubdued ſtates, and the further conqueſt of Britain, to the direction of Plautius. The name of Britannicus which Claudius aſſumed, and the ſplendour of his triumph, ſhew the *formidable* idea which the Roman people entertained of the Britiſh arms.[1]

During the remainder of the government of Plautius, no conſiderable advances were made in the conqueſt of the country; and he ſoon after returned to Rome, and was ſucceeded by Oſtorius Scapula.

This general found the affairs of his province in the greateſt confuſion: the winter had already commenced: the Iceni, the Brigantes, and other nations, thinking they had little to dread from a new general who was unknown to the army, revolted and had recourſe to arms. After ſeveral bloody encounters, theſe nations were reduced to obedience, and Oſtorius carried his arms into many parts of Britain which had been hitherto unknown. Ann. Dom. 50.

In this expedition he forced his way through the Cangi[2] who oppoſed him, in whom the principal ſtrength of each

[1] Dion Caſſius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

[2] Each nation or tribe had numbers of ſtout young men, called Cangi, whoſe buſineſs was to protect the cattle, and remove them from one paſture to another. Baxter's Gloſſary, p. 73.

nation

nation consisted; and, continuing his march, he penetrated as far as the coast which lies upon the Irish sea.[1]

In the course of this war, the fate of Britain depended on the virtues and military talents of Caractacus. This prince was sovereign of the territory inhabited by the Ordovices[2] and Silures, and was the son of the late king Cunobeline.[3] Having with infinite resources, and variety of fortunes, for nine[4] years opposed the Roman arms, he was at length obliged to retire among the Silures: and this brave people, whom neither mildness nor severity had subdued, eagerly ranged themselves under the conduct of this gallant prince, who, in order to preserve their territories from being made the seat of war, marched into the country of the Ordovices, where he stationed his army in a situation, chosen with *great military skill*.[5] At this place, he was opposed by Ostorius with the legionary troops. The few moments which preceded this important action, were employed by Caractacus in animating his soldiers; but their valour was unequally opposed to the force of discipline; and the British camp was stormed with great slaughter,

[1] Taciti Annales, Antwerp edit. lib. XII. p. 195, 196.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32, 33. [3] Baxter's Glossary, p. 67.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 32.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 33, 34, called *Caer Caradoc*, an eminence situated between the rivers Clue and Clevidia in Shropshire.

though

though not without confiderable refiftance. In this battle, the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prifoners; and his brothers, foon after, furrendered themfelves. Caractacus himfelf furvived this misfortune, to experience a more cruel deftiny. After his defeat, retiring to the country of the Brigantes, Cartifmandua, the queen of that territory, with a view of gaining the friendfhip of the Romans, or afraid of their refentment, betrayed him into the hands of Oftorius; and he was fent to Rome as a prifoner of the utmoft importance. A general curiofity was excited in Italy, to behold the figure of this extraordinary man, whofe fuperior talents and virtue had been fo long employed in oppofing the Roman power.[1] The magnanimity of this prince, when he was exhibited a public fpectacle at Rome, has been a frequent fubject of encomium.

The habits of war and of conqueft, with the cruel nature of their popular amufements, had introduced into the character of the Romans a degree of ferocity, inconfiftent with juft ideas of heroifm; and which, too frequently fteeled them againft the impreffions of pity, and led them to difdain, as unmanly weaknefs, the finer feelings of humanity.

This defeat of the Silures was foon revenged by feveral victories which they gained over the Roman forces; and in this fituation Oftorius died, worn out with anxiety and fatigue.[2] Ann. Dom. 53.

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 196, 197. [2] Ibid. p. 198.

Immediately after his death, the emperor ſent Aulus Didius into Britain: but the age of that general prevented any extraordinary exertions againſt the enemy;[1] and he was ſoon ſucceeded by Verannius, who, dying a little time after he had taken the command, left the Roman affairs in the greateſt confuſion.[2]

Ann. Dom. 58.

In this ſituation, Suetonius Paulinus came to command the forces in Britain. His firſt undertaking was to ſubdue the Ordovices, who inhabited that part of the iſland which is now called North Wales; and he ſecured the conqueſts he had made, by ſettling garriſons in the country. Suetonius was the firſt Roman, who penetrated as far as Mona.[3] Being oppoſed by the Druids on his entrance into the iſland, and influenced by national and religious animoſity, he maſſacred many of theſe people, cut down their groves, laid level their altars, and deſtroyed the ſeminary of that ancient ORDER.[4] After this event, the Druids are ſaid to have retired into Ireland, to the Iſle of Man, and into the Orkneys and Hebrides:[5] in a ſubſequent period being driven out of theſe retreats, by chriſtian zeal, they are likewiſe ſaid to have ſought an aſylum in Norway, Iceland, and other regions of the north:[6] at length, the Druidical ſyſtem was univerſally aboliſhed, after it

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 198. [2] Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 250.
[3] Taciti Vita Agricolæ, Op. p. 457.
[4] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 151. Rowland, p. 100.
[5] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 101, 107. [6] Rowland, p. 110.

it had long eſtabliſhed a boundleſs tyranny on the ruins of human reaſon.

It was an uniform principle, in the policy of the Roman ſtate, to exerciſe a mild dominion over the nations they had conquered, but this was changed to a ſyſtem of ſeverity, when the provinces, from a ſenſe of injury or of freedom, revolted from their obedience. The nature of their government was likewiſe ſtained, by the ſevere adminiſtration and rapacity of individuals. Thus the Roman yoke, however lightly it might be felt by *Aſiatics*, who were tamed to ſubmiſſion by hereditary ſlavery, was an oppreſſive burden to the Britons, bred in the ideas and habits of a wild independency. At this juncture, their native ſpirit, impatient of reſtraint and reſentful of injury, was urged into fury by a train of evils, which acted equally upon their feelings, as on their national pride and ſuperſtition. An impoſition of taxes on their lands and cattle, the arbitrary violation of property, with the frequent indignities offered to their women, were cauſes which kept alive a ſenſe of reſentment.[1] They were likewiſe affected by the treatment of Boadicea, a powerful ſovereign of the Iceni. This princeſs had juſt become a widow, and was left to the protection of the Roman ſtate; her huſband, by his will, had made Claudius coheir with his daughters, in hopes it might render him indulgent to his family. But that prince was no ſooner

[1] Galgacus's Speech, Taciti vit. Agric. Op. p. 462.

dead, than his treaſures were ſeized, and his territories waſted;[1] the foulneſs of the procedure being coloured by the indecent pretence, that the Roman law would only permit citizens to bequeath their property.[2] The remonſtrance of the queen againſt theſe injuries, only accumulated indignities upon her houſe; for the chaſtity of her daughters was violated, and her own perſon diſhonoured, by being publicly ſcourged.[3]

These evils, however enormous, were only partial, and they did not extend to every part of the iſland. But the late deſtruction of the Druids, it is probable, gave a general ſhock to the feelings of the Britons; and with the fury of enthuſiaſts, they ruſhed to the ſtandard of Boadicea. The firſt impreſſion of this multitude was aſtoniſhingly great: like the ſea overſwelling its bounds, they carried with them irreſiſtible force, and deſolated the country. The two cities, Camalodunum and Verulamium, firſt experienced their fury,[4] the inhabitants of which colonies were ſlaughtered without any diſtinction of rank or ſex, and under circumſtances of uncommon barbarity:[5] almoſt an entire legion were cut in pieces, coming to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen; and eighty thouſand perſons, either Roman citi-

[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.
[2] Heineccius Element. Jur. lib. II. Tit. XII.
[3] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251. [4] Ibid. p. 251, 252.
[5] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 700.

zens

zens or allies, are ſaid to have periſhed in the general carnage.[1] It is to be lamented, that in attempting to recover the freedom of her country, ſo much cruelty ſhould have ſtained the character of this princeſs; but ſome extenuation may be found in the nature of her own wrongs, in the injuries which her ſubjects had ſuffered, and in the fierceneſs of uncultivated life.

During theſe tranſactions, Suetonius was engaged in the conqueſt of Mona, and as ſoon as he heard of the revolt, he marched with confidence, through an irritated country, to London,[2] a place of great commercial importance.[3] But, finding himſelf unable to keep poſſeſſion of the town, he was obliged to take the field with a few cohorts of auxiliaries, with a ſingle legion, and the *Vexillarii*[4] of another, and to leave the women, the aged, and the infirm, to the fury of the Britons.[5] With this army, conſiſting only of ten thouſand men, Suetonius oppoſed Boadicea, at the head of two hundred and thirty thouſand Britons.[6] On this deciſive day, Boadicea appeared in a chariot, with her daughters Ann. Dom. 60.

[1] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII p. 704.

[2] This city was originally called *Troynewith* or New Troy: afterwards *Dias Beli* from having been the reſidence of Belus; laſt of all it was called Caer Ludd and Lhundain, from king Lud.

[3] Humpfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 20.

[4] Various are the opinions reſpecting the Vexillarii, the moſt probable is, that they were light armed troops belonging to each legion.

[5] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. [6] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 704.

by

by her ſide; and rode in a military dreſs through the ranks, to animate the ſoldiers.[1] Beſides this, the Britons had another incitement to victory, as they were to fight in the preſence of their wives, and for the ſafety of their families, who were ranged in waggons on the rear of the army.[2] But valour alone, unſupported by diſcipline, is not able to withſtand the firmneſs of veteran troops; and after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Britiſh army was entirely defeated.

NEAR eighty thouſand of the Britons fell in this day's action, or in the purſuit. Boadicea, unwilling to ſurvive the ruin of her country, ſuddenly diſappeared, having put an end to her own life, as is imagined, by poiſon.[3] It is aſtoniſhing, that after the ſevere defeats which the Britons received, they ſhould be ſtill able to keep their national ſtrength unbroken, and their ſpirit unſubdued.

Ann. Dom. 62.

THE danger and difficulty of the war were ſo great, that Nero was inclined to relinquiſh the conqueſt of Britain: but being informed that the rough demeanour of Suetonius might be ſome obſtacle to a peace, he recalled him into Italy; and he placed ſeveral officers ſucceſſively in command, whoſe inactivity or milder temper gave time for reſentments to ſubſide.[4]

THESE generals were ſucceeded by others, of more active and martial diſpoſitions. Petilius Cerealis ſubdued a great

[1] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 704.
[2] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. [3] Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 253.
[4] Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 253.

part

part of the Brigantes, who inhabited the northern counties of England; and Julius Frontinus, conquered from the Silures, the foreſt of Dean,[1] and the preſent counties of Hereford, and Monmouth.[2]

During the time that the Roman intereſt thus fluctuated in Britain, the inhabitants were expoſed to every inſult and injury, which might be expected from the rapacity of ſubordinate governors, and the will of a licentious ſoldiery. To remedy theſe evils, to give ſtability to conqueſt, to introduce peace and order, with the mild habits of ſocial life, required the virtues, and well tempered policy of Julius Agricola.

This Roman was ſent by Veſpaſian to command the forces in Britain, where he had already acquired a conſiderable reputation by his military ſervices. On his arrival, he found the Ordovices revolted, who had begun their hoſtilities, by cutting off a ſquadron of horſe, ſtationed upon the frontiers. It was late in the ſummer when he opened the campaign, ſupported only by the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a body of auxiliary troops; and on his approach, the Ordovices, not daring to face him in the field, retired to the mountains; into which difficult places, they were immediately purſued, and the country laid waſte

[1] So called from the Danes, Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75.

[2] Taciti in vit. Agric. Op. p. 458.

with

Ann. Dom. 78. with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. This ſucceſs induced Agricola to attempt the ſecond conqueſt of Mona. The chiefs of the Ordovices had retired into that iſland, in which they thought themſelves perfectly ſecure, the Romans not having any ſhips upon the coaſt, and regarding the *Menai* as impaſſable: but the auxiliaries of the army, by order of Agricola, having croſſed that arm of the ſea on horſeback, the Britons were ſo aſtoniſhed at a ſight to them altogether new, that they immediately laid down their arms.[1]

When Agricola had finiſhed the conqueſt of Mona, he directed his views to the milder deſigns of peace and reformation. Well inſtructed in the art of governing, he was more deſirous of preventing the cauſes of diſcontents than of *puniſhing their effects*: equally tempering lenity with rigour, he aboliſhed that ſyſtem of tyranny which had ſo frequently driven the Britons to revolt, and fixed in their breaſts the moſt fatal reſentments.[2] To theſe examples of humanity and juſtice, he added others of an extenſive and liberal policy. With the moſt engaging manners and addreſs, he drew the Britons out of their deſerts into ſocial communities; and perſuaded them to change their rude habits, and precarious ſubſiſtence, for the arts of peace, and the comforts of civilized life.[3] The Roman people, from

[1] Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 458. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 459.

a ſingular

a ſingular policy, were uſed to extend with their conqueſts the ſciences and arts, were accuſtomed to ſoften the ferocity of war, and diſarm it in ſome meaſure of its evils, by introducing their milder manners, with the refinements and elegances of life; with a view, no doubt, to enervate, and to enſlave mankind.

In attentions like theſe to civilize the Britons, and to alleviate their ſufferings, Agricola employed the winters which he paſſed in the iſland; and in the courſe of ſeven ſummers' campaigns, he extended his conqueſts into Caledonia. He likewiſe erected two different fortifications, ſome of which were formed near the river Tay,[1] and the others along that narrow iſthmus which lies between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.[2] But Domitian, who hated virtues which he would not emulate, and ſickened at the glory he could not attain, recalled Agricola to Rome; and this great man ſoon after died of a lingering diſorder, with the ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned at the inſtigation of that tyrant.[3] Ann. Dom. 85.

Tacitus, by a few ſtrokes of his inimitable pencil, has given the portrait of this amiable Roman.

[1] Buchanani. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 101, 102. Cambden, Holland's tranſlation, p. 789.

[2] Langhori. Ant. Albion, p. 112, 113.

[3] Taciti vit. Agricolæ. Op. p. 459, 465, 466.

Ann. Dom. 98.

During the latter part of the life of Domitian, and in the ſhort reign of Nerva, the Roman intereſt was neglected in Britain.

More important objects, on the eaſtern frontier of the empire, employed the martial genius of Trajan.

The wiſe policy of limiting, and of preſerving its boundaries, was the leading principle in the government of Adrian; however, in the courſe of his reign, he came into Britain, where, the more effectually to ſecure, he narrowed the bounds of the Roman conqueſts, ordering the more northern forts to be deſerted which had been raiſed by Agricola, and placing their garriſons on the line of fortifications, which he formed from the Tyne to Solway Frith.[1]

To preſerve dominion by the influence of a juſt and mild adminiſtration, was well ſuited to the philoſophic ſpirit, and benevolent temper of the two Antonines; but a commotion having ariſen in Caledonia in the reign of Antoninus Pius, he ſent Lollius Urbicus into Britain, who, after he had ſuppreſſed the inſurrection, confined the Picts to their former boundary.[2]

[1] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 103. Spart. vit. Adriani in Scriptoribus Auguſt. p. 6.

[2] Julius Capitolinus in vit. Antonini Pii in Scriptoribus Auguſt. hiſt. p. 19.

The

The dissolute reign of Commodus having had an influence on the discipline of the legions, the Caledonians broke over the wall of Adrian, and cut in pieces a Roman general with his army; but they were soon after driven back with great slaughter, and continued quiet during the remainder of that reign.[1]

The precarious situation of Pertinax and Didius Julianus, who in succession possessed the empire, gave them no leisure to attend to the affairs of Britain; in which state of quiet they remained to the latter part of the reign of Severus.

Under pretence of restraining the irruptions of the northern Britons, but probably to withdraw his sons from the pleasures of Rome, Severus came into the island; and though advanced in years, and so broken with infirmities as to be carried in a litter, he proceeded through forests and morasses to the farthest parts of Caledonia.[2] After having surmounted the difficulties of the march, and many fierce encounters with the Picts, he himself not being able to finish the war on account of his increasing infirmities, left one of his sons to conclude a peace with that people;

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. LXXII. p. 821.

[2] Herodian, lib. III. p. 133, 135, 137.

and on his return rebuilt with ſtone, and more ſtrongly fortified the rampart of Adrian. Soon after Severus had finiſhed this imperial work he died in the city of York.[1]

Ann. Dom. 212.

Ann. 284. FROM the death of this prince to the reign of Diocleſian few incidents occur in the hiſtory of Britain, the Romans having been too much employed by convulſions at home to attend to the diſtant provinces. In the courſe of this reign Carauſius,[2] and afterwards Allectus, aſſumed an independent ſovereignty in Britain.[3] But when Conſtantius was elevated to the rank of Cæſar, in that ſingular ſyſtem of government formed by Diocleſian, he reduced the iſland to its former ſtate of a province of the empire.[4] This prince died in the city of York,[5] ſoon after he had ſucceeded to the purple as emperor of the weſt, and during the greateſt part of his reign, he kept the Britons in quiet, by the influence of his mild virtues.[6] The more deciſive qualities

Ann. 298. Ann. 307.

[1] Bedes Eccl. Hiſt lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Joannis Roſſi, Antq. Warwic. Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 49. Oroſius, lib. VII. cap. XVII. p. 502. Hiſt. Auguſt. Script. Spartian, p. 71.

[2] Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 91. 84. [3] Ibid.

[4] J. Roſſi. Ant. War. p. 50.

[5] Called Eboracum by the Romans, Caer Efroc by the Britons, and Euerwyke by the Saxons. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 30.

[6] Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gales Script. Flores Hiſtoriarum p. 92, 96, by Math. Weſtminſter.

of

of Conſtantine the Great continued to ſecure their obedience. Ann. Dom. 326.

At this period a ſtorm began to gather in the north, which gradually acquiring greater force and a deeper gloom, at length overſpread the Britiſh hemiſphere.

As the dread of the Roman power declined with the retreat of the legions, ſeveral nations, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, made incurſions into Britain. The Picts were natives of the iſland, and inhabited the country near the wall of Antonine, upon the eaſtern, and weſtern coaſt, and on the mountains of Caledonia.[1] The Scots, were a recent colony from Ireland, and had ſettled by invitation of the Picts, upon the weſtern ſhore of Scotland very early in the fourth century.[2] The Saxons, one of the moſt warlike nations in Germany, had emigrated from the northern parts of that country, and ſettled along the ſea coaſt from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine.[3]

The hiſtory of this period is barren of important incidents, and exhibits very little agreeable information: we ſcarcely meet with any thing, but pictures of rude life and manners, or melancholy details of war and devaſtation.

[1] Whitaker, ibid. edit. vol. II. p. 209.

[2] Whitaker's Hiſt. Mancheſter, vol. II. p. 248, 249, 250.

[3] Verſtegan. chap. III. p. 20, 55, 56, 82, 84.

With a policy peculiar to the Romans, they had permitted the kingly office in the full extent of its ancient authority, to remain in many of the provinces of Britain.[1] In the courſe of this period, two princely families had ariſen into preeminence, above the reſt of the Britiſh Reguli; appearing in their ancient luſtre on the decline of the Roman power, and attaining to that royal diſtinction which had formerly belonged to their anceſtors.[2] Theſe were the princes of the Cynethian and Cornwall families.[3] The former were ſovereigns of the territory belonging to the Strath-Clyd Britons, and of the principality of Gwyneth or North Wales; and were deſcended from Coel, a northern prince who, by his marriage with the heireſs of North Wales, became the ſovereign of that principality.[4] The daughter of this prince ſucceeded to his dominions and was called Helena, and afterwards married the emperor Conſtantius;[5] who having gained by that union a natural right to the crown, the Roman government became for a time very popular. But in after times, the line of the princeſs Helena becoming extinct in Britain, the ſucceſſion of the

[1] Hiſt. Mancheſter, vol. I. ſecond edit. p. 331. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 115.

[2] Rowland's Mon. An. p. 145, 171.

[3] Rowland, p. 171.

[4] Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 145, 163.

[5] Run. Higden, lib. XIV. p. 219. Flores Hiſtorium, p. 92. Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 161, 162, 163, 166.

Strath-

Strath-Clyd kingdom, with the principality of North Wales, devolved upon Cynetha her nephew, called Weledig, or the Illuſtrious.[1] The ſons of this prince, leaving their northern territories to the government of one of their own family, retired to their dominions in North Wales; where their deſcendents ſupported the cauſe of freedom, till the royal Britiſh blood became extinct as to ſovereignty in the perſon of the laſt prince Llewelyn.[2]

The Cornwall family were derived from Branap-Llyr a duke of that province, who was afterwards choſen the king of Britain.[3] Out of this princely family were deſcended the illuſtrious names of Aurelius Ambroſius, Uther Pendragon, Arthur and Conſtantine; a line of heroes who ſucceſſively, but with different fortunes, oppoſed the Saxon arms.[4]

The naval force of the kingdom in the preceding period, during the reigns of Conſtantius and his ſon Conſtantine, had been the object of policy and of regular attention; by which means the coaſts had in general been ſecured from invaſion;[5] but as the Roman intereſt declined, the

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90.

[2] Rowland's Mont. Antq. p. 146, 162. [3] Ibid. 145, 146, 170. [4] Ib.

[5] Flores Heſtoriarum, p. 91. Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. VI. 7. Campbell Navel. Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. p. 26.

navy

navy was ſuffered to decay; the Britons paying no attention to this great object of national ſecurity.

At this period the Picts acting in conjunction with the Scots, and the Saxons invaded the Roman territories in Britain.

'The diſtraction and miſery occaſioned by this invaſion were aſtoniſhingly great: for not confining their ravages along the ſea coaſt, as had hitherto been their cuſtom, they ſpread wide their depredations through the interior parts of the country. They were conſtantly oppoſed by the Count of the Saxon ſhores; but after that officer had done all in his power to withſtand their fury, he bravely fell, where he could not conquer. The next perſon that oppoſed them was the general of the Roman forces; who having collected ſuch a power as the urgency of the time would allow, marched againſt the enemy; but being drawn into an ambuſcade, this general, likewiſe, experienced the ſame fate. Theſe circumſtances creating alarm, the emperor Valentinian ſent Theodoſius into Britain; and this officer, uniting military talents with great policy and addreſs, ſoon put an end to the war, and reinſtated the provinces in their former tranquillity.'[1] On the return

[1] Langhoni. Ant. Albion, p. 224.

of Theodosius to Rome, he was attended to the sea shore by the acclamations of a grateful people.[1]

THIS tranquil state of their affairs was, however, soon interrupted by the ambition of a popular individual. For the Britons, engaging in the cause of Maximus on his usurpation of the empire, rekindled the flames of war, and thus hastened their own ruin. This person had served a long time in Britain with great military reputation;[2] but the cause which of all others had been the means to rivet him in the affections of the natives, and more closely to unite his interests with their own, was his marriage with Helena,[3] the daughter of Eudda duke of Cornwall,[4] afterwards elected to the sovereign dignity.[5] In consequence of which, Maximus[6] drew to his standard the flower of the British youth; who along with the legionary soldiers were transported into Gaul.[7] His endeavours were at first crowned with success, by an advantage he gained over Gratian one of the Roman emperors,[8] and by the expulsion of Valentinian the other emperor out of Italy; but his army was afterwards routed by Theodosius,

[1] Appendix Post Bœdam, p. 671. Ammianus Marcelin. lib. XXVIII. p. 525.

[2] Zoz. lib. IV. p. 248.

[3] Born at Segonte.

[4] Cornwall, called Cerniw by the Britons; by the Saxons Cornwall or the Welch of Cornavia. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 18.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 166, 169. Flore's Historiarium, p. 105.

[6] Zosimus, lib. IV. p. 248.

[7] Flore's Historiarium, p. 106.

[8] Zosimus, p. 248. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 25.

and he himſelf, with his ſon Flavius put to death, after having been, for five years, in poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity.[1] Theſe princes fell victims to their ambition; and with them fell likewiſe the hopes, and ſplendid views of the Britons. The remains of this unfortunate army, for want of the means, it is probable, of returning into their own country, ſettled in Armorica.[2]

A SEASON of weakneſs and miſery enſued; but it was not every part of Britain which had been involved in the general calamity. On the diſſolution of the Roman power, the Britiſh governments (as was before obſerved) had reverted to thoſe reguli who were deſcended from the ancient ſovereigns. The moſt eminent of theſe princes, at this period, was Eneon Urdd, the ſon of Cynetha; who reſided, like his father, in his northern territories.[3] This prince united in his government the kingdom of Strath-Cluyd Britons, the principality of Gwynedh or North Wales, and it is probable likewiſe thoſe parts of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire lying upon the Iriſh channel.[4] The union of theſe dominions, under a vigorous adminiſtration, formed a force ſufficiently powerful to repel the invaders, and to keep his own kingdom in general ſecurity as long as it remained unbroken by the cuſtom of Gavel-kind. In the courſe

Ann. Dom. 389.

[1] Zoſimus, p. 266, 267.

[2] Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. V. p. 41. The name is derived in the Britiſh from Ar-morica, or upon the ſea. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 10.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 183. [4] Ibid. p. 146.

of

of this reign, however, the Irish Scots, under the command of Sirigi,[1] landed on Mona; and having defeated the natives, took possession of that island.[2] On this invasion, Eneon Urdd sent his eldest son *Caswallon-law-hir*[3] to the relief of Mona,[4] who soon executed his orders, by routing the enemy at Holyhead where their fleet was deposited, and slaying Sirigi in a personal encounter.[5]

During the reign of Theodosius, his just and vigorous administration preserved in general the public tranquillity. But on the death of that prince, and in the minority of Honorius, a more general and formidable invasion took place. The Picts, the Irish Scots, and the Saxons united their powers, and infested the southern coasts of Britain; they divided into different parties, and spread, with the fury of wild fire, over the interior parts of the kingdom. This invasion, however, was soon checked, and the peace of the island established, under the conduct of Victorinus; this officer having been sent into Britain by Stilico, who in the minority of his master directed the concerns of the Roman empire.[6] Among other marks of his attentions to the true interest of

Ann. Dom. 393.

Ann. Dom. 395.

1 Or the *Rover*. 2 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146.

3 Or the long handed. 4 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183.

5 Ibid. p. 146.

6 Claudian de laud. Stilicon. cap. XI. Langhorni. Ant. Alb. p. 237.

the iſland, he repaired the navy, which for ſome years preſerved the coaſts from being invaded.[1]

A calm interval of ſeveral years having ſucceeded this ſtormy ſeaſon, an event happened the moſt important and deciſive; which gave ſuch a ſhock to the center of the Roman ſtate, as to convulſe the moſt diſtant parts of that
Ann. Dom. 403. extenſive empire. This was the invaſion of Italy by *Alaric* the *Goth*. To ſuſtain the central parts, the legionary troops in the provinces were recalled, and of courſe the greateſt
Ann. Dom. 410. part of thoſe which had been ſtationed in Britain were withdrawn into Italy.[2]

In deſpair of receiving aſſiſtance from Rome, the Britons themſelves elected ſeveral ſovereigns to take the direction of affairs in ſuch a *perilous ſeaſon*.[3] The laſt of theſe princes named Conſtantine, was raiſed to that dignity on account of the popularity of his name; and though of mean rank, being no more than a common ſoldier, he was a perſon of ſpirit and enterprize, and poſſeſſed a genius above his condition.[4]

Elated with his early proſperity, Conſtantine extended his views to the continent; and in order to ſupport his claim to the

[1] Secund. Paneg. de laud. Stilic. p. 516. [2] Claudian de bello Getico, p. 593.
[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 92. Zoſimus, p. 371.
[4] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50.

the empire, and to take advantage of the present favourable juncture, he came over into Gaul with an army.[1] Honorius, being obliged to give way to the present emergency, agreed to receive him as his associate in the empire;[2] but that prince having concluded a peace with the Goths, opposed the pretensions of Constantine, and finally took him prisoner, and put him to death.[3] The remainder of the Britons, who followed the fortunes of the usurper, settled in Armorica, which at this time was erected into a kingdom, independent of Rome.[4] Ann. Dom. 410.

The Britons, still more exposed than ever to invasions, applied to Honorius for assistance; but that emperor himself, sorely pressed by Alaric, left them to the management of their own affairs, and renounced the sovereignty of the island.[5] Ann. Dom. 410.

A short gleam of prosperity rising upon the Romans in the reign of Valentinian the third, a legion was sent into Britain by Ætius, who commanded in Gaul, with no view of making any permanent settlement, but only in pity to the immediate distresses of that country. When this legion had performed the necessary service, it was recalled into Italy;[6] but before their departure the Romans fortified the Ann. Dom. 423.

[1] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50. Zosimus, p. 371.
[2] Zosimus, p. 359. [3] Polidore Virgil, p. 350.
[4] Zosimus, lib. VI. p. 376. [5] Ibid. 376, 381. [6] Ibid.

wall

wall of Severus, and erected towers for obſervation upon the ſea coaſts; they exhorted the Britons to inure themſelves to war, and aſſured them that on their own virtue and manly exertions their future ſafety muſt depend.[1]

At this period, when the Romans bade a final adieu to Britain, the country lay expoſed to the inroads of numerous enemies, after its native ſtrength had been exhauſted in ſupport of foreign wars, its numbers farther waſted by famine and peſtilence,[2] and its navy, that natural bulwark of its ſafety, had fallen into decay:[3] and, under all theſe external diſadvantages, the people themſelves wanted that union ſo neceſſary in times of emergency; and their princes, inſtead of uniting to oppoſe the common danger by concerted plans of operation, ſeemed only anxious to ſecure their ſeparate intereſts.[4]

[1] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Gildas, p. 5. Gales Scriptores.
[2] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 115, 116. Bede's, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Gildas, p. 7.
[3] Berkley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 43.
[4] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY FROM THE FINAL RETREAT OF THE ROMANS, TO THAT PERIOD WHEN THE ANCIENT BRITONS WERE DRIVEN INTO WALES, CORNWALL, AND ARMORICA.

IN a ſtate of weakneſs and confuſion it was, that the Britons regained their liberty, after having been depen- Ann. Dom. 430. dant on the Roman empire four hundred and eighty years from the firſt invaſion of Julius Cæſar.[1] But they were no longer that rough, brave, or virtuous people the Romans found them; they might be poliſhed, it is true, by the Roman arts, but theſe had left them without valour or public ſpirit, enervated, indolent, and dejected. They in general were elated at the *idea* of being free; but their minds were too much debaſed, either to form juſt con-

[1] Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

ceptions

ceptions of freedom, or to enjoy the full benefit of its invaluable fruits.

Amidst the confufion natural in fuch a fituation, the Britons were ftruck with a fenfe of their true interefts, and they determined to eftablifh a powerful navy, as the fureft means of national fecurity. This falutary meafure, though undertaken at firft with great alacrity, was never carried into execution: the defign, it is probable, might in fome meafure fail, through the natural levity of a people unacquainted with bufinefs, averfe to labour, and unaccuftomed to great attempts.[1]

The fudden attack made by the Picts on the wall of Severus allowed them little leifure to engage in naval defigns; and *thofe Britons*, who defended the forts upon the wall, unacquainted with this kind of war, and not poffeffing the cool intrepidity neceffary in fuch a fituation, abandoned their ftations; and, forfaking that part of the country, retreated to the fouth. Inftead of the fpoil, which had hitherto been the object of their inroads, the Picts determined to fettle upon the lands which had been lately abandoned:[2] but this dangerous defign was for the prefent fufpended by a peace concluded with the Britons; this wretched people having purchafed a temporary quiet for a

[1] Berkeley's Naval Hift. Britain, p. 43, 44.

[2] Bede's Ecclefiaftic. Hift. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50.

confiderable

confiderable fum of money. By this treaty the wall of Severus was to be the boundary between the two nations. The peace was however of no long duration, for the means that were employed to procure it were naturally the caufe of its infraction;[1] and a war enfued more deftructive in its confequence, than any in which the Britons had been engaged. In one battle alone they fuftained the lofs of fourteen thoufand men; an irreparable injury in their weak fituation. Reduced to extremity, they folicited peace of their conquerors,[2] and obtained one indeed, but upon very mortifying terms; for by the new treaty they were obliged to give up the country which lies to the north of the Humber, and on which lands the Picts immediately made fettlements.[3] Ann. Dom. 438.

The Britons being thus defpoiled of a great part of their territories, and fenfible that every refiftance of their own was vain, applied to the king of Armorica for affiftance, who fent his brother Conftantine, with a body of troops, into the ifland.[4] That prince having defeated the enemy, was promoted, in a public council, to the Britifh throne.[5] Ann. Dom. 443. But this fupply only afforded the Britons an occafional

[1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 24, 25. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] Girald. Cambrenfis, lib. VI. p. 43.

[5] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 171. Englifh tranflation. Ranulph Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. Weft. Flores Hift. p. 212.

relief; and ſtill preſſed by the increaſing power of their enemies, they had recourſe for the laſt time to the Romans, and ſupplicated aid from Ætius the *Præfect* of Gaul; who with great valour, and a tranſient ſucceſs, had ſuſpended for ſome time the deſtiny of Rome. The Britiſh deputies carried to him the following letter of their countrymen, written in a ſtrain of diſhonourable lamentation:

"To Ætius, thrice conſul, the groans of the Britons.
"We know not which way to turn us. The *Barbarians* "drive us to the ſea, and the ſea forces us back to the "*Barbarians*; between which we have only the choice of "two deaths, either to be ſwallowed up by the waves, or "butchered by the ſword"[1]

But Ætius, at this time engaged in oppoſing Attilla, was not in a ſituation to afford them relief.[2]

Dejected with this repulſe, and ſtill harraſſed by the inroads of the Picts and Iriſh Scots, the Britons were reduced to deſpair, deſerted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and relinquiſhing the habits of ſocial life, retreated to the woods and mountains; in which ſolitary wilds they gained a precarious ſubſiſtence by hunting.[3] To add another evil

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIII. p. 51. Gildas, cap. XVII. Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. VI. p. 42.

[2] Bede, ibid. [3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 116.

to

to their ſufferings, a famine enſued, owing to inceſſant devaſtation and the neglect of cultivating their lands.[1] To avoid this complicated miſery, numbers of the Britons threw themſelves on the mercy of their enemies: others more brave, ſtill continued to oppoſe them from the places of their retreat; while the miſerable remainder, indulging the laſt effort of deſpair and wretchedneſs, fell to injure and deſpoil one another.[2]

The invaders themſelves, unacquainted with the arts of agriculture, and perpetually harraſſed with much ſlaughter by the ſudden incurſions of the Britons, began to feel the preſſure of that famine which they had occaſioned; and were obliged to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions and retire into their own country.[3] During this interval of peace, the Britons returned to their habitations, and to their uſual employments in huſbandry, Favourable ſeaſons having ſeconded their labours, an aſtoniſhing plenty enſued; when, forgetful of their paſt misfortunes and improvident for the future, they are ſaid to have fallen into luxury, and into vices of every kind, the moſt atrocious; a circumſtance which not only marks the manners of the age, but

[1] Gildas, p. 6.

[2] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51.

[3] Gildas, cap. XVII.

alſo proves them unworthy of that freedom they had lately recovered.[1]

There is a point of depreſſion as well as of exaltation, (as has been obſerved by an acute philoſophic ſpirit) which in general limits the progreſs of human affairs, and from which they generally return, either by a ſlow or a rapid movement, towards the oppoſite extreme. Though reduced to the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs and miſery, the Britons, rouſed by the virtue of ſucceeding princes, recovered their native ſpirit; and, aſſerting for ſeveral ages, the rights of injured humanity, aroſe once more into importance and freedom.

Ann. Dom. 443. About this period, Caſſwallon, the prince of Cumbria, made choice of Mona[2] for his reſidence; and being the eldeſt branch of the *Cynethean family* he had of courſe a pre-eminence in dignity; the other Cambrian princes paying him homage and obedience as their ſuperior lord.[3] From this Æra we may fix the date of a diſtinct ſovereignty in North Wales.

Among the various evils accumulated upon the Britons, we may reckon the miſeries of religious diſſention. It is equally deplorable as it is ſtrange, that a religion, ſo

[1] Bede, cap. XVII.

[2] The ruins of his palace were to be ſeen near Llan Elian in the Rev. Mr. Rowland's time.

[3] Rowland, p. 146, 147, 148.

well

well adapted to ſoften and to meliorate the human character, ſhould by a fatal perverſion, be made the means of deſtroying the mildneſs of its ſpirit, and of injuring its purity, by calling into action the malignant and angry paſſions, and by confining the native freedom of the mind within the narrow limits preſcribed to it by prejudice and the pride of opinion. The hereſy of the Pelagians had, at this time ſpread in the Chriſtian Church, and the diſputes which it occaſioned were carried on with much animoſity and rancour; evils, which have always ariſen from the paſſions whenever they mingle in theological controverſy.[1]

To remedy theſe evils, and to reduce religious opinions to one ſtandard, the Britiſh clergy applied for aſſiſtance to a Gallican council, which deputed St. Germain attended by another biſhop of the name of Lupus, upon that miſſion.[2] The former prelate, who was a man of learning and piety, and ſeems to have poſſeſſed a ſolid and extenſive genius, having for the preſent given a check to the Pelagian innovations, fixed his reſidence in Cambria; where, it is probable, that at this early period, many of its inhabitants ſtill remained in ignorance, and had ſcarcely any knowledge of chriſtianity.[3]

Ann. Dom. 447.

[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 114.

[2] Ibid. Bede's Eccleſt. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XVII. p. 54. Rand. Higden's Polychron. lib. V. p. 223.

[3] Conſtantius life of St. Germain.

During

During the converſion of the Britons in Cambria, and while St. Germain was introducing learning with ſome degree of order into the church, the Saxons joined in confederacy with the Picts, and invaded that part of the country. At this juncture, many Britons were aſſembled to be inſtructed by St. Germain in the principles of chriſtianity, and to receive baptiſm at his hands on the feſtival of Eaſter. Supported by this multitude, who were fired with religious enthuſiaſm, St. Germain calmly waited the approach of the enemy, at a place called *Maes-Garmon* near Mold in Flintſhire; and at the moment when the Saxons were ruſhing to the attack, he ordered the Britons to call aloud, three times, *Allelujah*. The ſound having increaſed by the reverberation of the adjacent mountains, threw the Saxons into ſo great a panic that they were eaſily routed.[1] We eaſily conceive that a ſuperſtitious people would impute this ſingular victory to the extraordinary interpoſition of the Almighty, and that they eſteemed their leader, like Gideon, to be armed with celeſtial power. But the mind, at the preſent period, not ſeeing objects through the medium of enthuſiaſm, will conclude this event to have ariſen out of natural cauſes, always under the direction of Divine Providence. The Saxons, it is poſſible, from the nature of the outcry, might ſuſpect an ambuſh, or that the number of the Britons

[1] Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XX. p. 57. Langhorni. Ant. Albionenſes, p. 259.

was

was increaſed: beſides, the mind of man, in an uncultivated ſtate, is liable to fears the moſt ſudden, abſurd, and contagious. Having thus preſerved the public tranquillity from foreign enemies, and by civil and religious regulations ſecured in ſome meaſure the peace of the country, St. Germain attempted before his departure to eſtabliſh a naval force, aſſuring the Britons that it muſt be upon their fleets alone they could rationally depend for their future ſecurity.[1]

Constantine, the king of Britain, having been murdered when he was hunting by the treachery of a Pict, his ſon Conſtans, though a monk, was raiſed to the throne, through the machinations of Vortigern his couſin, in hopes of directing the government of a prince, who, having been bred in the receſſes of a cloiſter, was of courſe uninſtructed in the management of public affairs, and in the laws of his kingdom.[2] There was ſomething bold in the genius of Vortigern. He poſſeſſed qualities which uſually decide in the great and turbulent ſcenes of life, but he was led by them into a ſeries of crimes, which have marked his life with misfortune, and his character with infamy. Ann. Dom. 448.

As ſoon as Vortigern had taken the reins of government into his hands, he choſe no longer to act a ſecondary part

[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 44.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 173. Rowland, p. 169, 184. Ranulph Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale Script. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 113.

in

in its affairs; but, allured by the profpect of the crown, he determined to reach that point of his ambition by the murder of his fovereign.[1] In purfuance of this defign, the king's guards, who had been recommended by Vortigern himfelf, and were inftigated by rewards and his artful fuggeftions, entered the prince's bed chamber; and having cut off his head, carried it bleeding to the regent; who, however delighted with the fpectacle, feigned the utmoft aftonifhment and horror, wept over the ghaftly vifage, and by a mafter-ftroke of policy, as if affected with honeft indignation, ordered the heads of the affaffins to be ftruck off.[2] The fingular addrefs of Vortigern in the conduct of this affair might caufe the death of Conftantius, in fome degree, to remain inveloped in darknefs. It removed however the obftacle to his ambition, and he immediately afcended the throne;[3] but whether by his own ufurpation, or that he was called to the vacant dignity by the voice of the ftates, is a point which remains undecided.

Ann. Dom. 448.

HERE let us paufe a moment over an *Epoch* diftinguifhed in the Britifh annals, when the Saxons were invited into Britain to be the guardians of its fafety, and point out the probable caufes of a meafure fo delufive, and fatal. The rapid changes of feveral princes from the fcepter to the

[1] Jo. Rofs. Ant. Warw. p. 55. Math. Weftm. Flores Hift. p. 113.

[2] Polychronicon, lib. IV. p. 221. in Gale's Scriptores. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 178. Evan's Mirrour of paft Ages in Welfh, p. 95.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Antiq. p. 184.

grave

grave had ſhewn the precarious tenure under which the Britiſh ſovereigns had held their power. The fear, likewiſe, of falling a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country, might be a powerful motive with Vortigern to unite his cauſe with the ambitious views of the Saxons, whoſe number and valour might protect him from danger, and ſupport their mutual intereſts. Superadded to theſe motives of a perſonal nature, the public ſafety, at this time threatened with an invaſion of the Picts and Scots, ſerved Vortigern as a plauſible pretext to convene the ſtates of the kingdom, and to propoſe in that aſſembly the neceſſity of ſuch an alliance.[1] Nothing could ſo ſtrongly mark the fear and diſtraction which at this time influenced the general council, as adopting ſo haſtily a meaſure repugnant to every principle of ſound policy. The ſucceeding hiſtory of the Saxon wars, replete with human miſery, and the ruin of the Britiſh empire, the effect of this day's counſels, are melancholy leſſons to mankind; that a people who have not themſelves the virtue to defend their country, are not likely by adventitious aid to preſerve its freedom.

A weak credulity, and a temper haſty and impetuous, were the leading qualities of the Britons, which frequently excited them to reſolutions the moſt precipitate and ill

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtoriarium, p. 115. Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit.

founded. These defects, which had been ruinous to their liberties in every period of their annals, laid them open to the machinations and interested views of this crafty usurper; and it was an easy matter for Vortigern, by sounding the alarm of danger, to obtain the consent of the states, that deputies should be immediately dispatched to solicit aid of the Saxons.[1] Some nobler spirits, endued with greater strength of discernment, saw the fatal tendency of the measure, and exerted their utmost efforts to oppose the general opinion. But the evil genius of Britain prevailed, and deputies were sent to the Saxons to solicit their assistance against the common enemy, the Picts and the Scots.[2]

THE various tribes of the Saxons,[3] at this period, were governed in the same manner as the Celtic nations. An assembly, composed of twelve of the most eminent chieftains formed the great council of the nation, and during peace directed the public administration; but in times of war, some one person of this body, pre-eminent in valour and other talents for command, was chosen by the common suffrages to take upon him the conduct of the state.[4] At

[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55.

[2] Evans Mirrour of past ages, written in Welsh.

[3] So called from using military weapons that were in the shape of a *scythe*, and called in their language *seaxes*. Verstegan, chap. I. p. 21, 22.

[4] Verstegan, chap. III. p. 62.

this

this period, Hengist and Horsa were princes of great distinction. They were the descendants of Woden,[1] the founder of the nation, and regarded by the Saxons as the deity who presided in war,[2] agreeably to the custom of the first ages, of paying divine honours to any individual, who had been the instrument of glory or prosperity to his country.

When the British deputies appeared before the assembly of the Saxon states, they opened the nature of their commission, and solicited assistance.[3] Struck with this favourable opportunity of displaying their valour, and gratifying their avidity, and probably discerning the consequent advantages, the Saxons agreed to send the Britons immediate aid; and a large body of troops was embarked under the command of Hengist and Horsa.[4] The former of these warriors, by his valour and abilities, was every way qualified to support the expectations of his country. On the character of Horsa, history is silent; except that, along

[1] From Woden is derived Wednesday, being the day dedicated to the honour of that Saxon Deity. Friday likewise is derived from the Saxon goddess Fria, being the day dedicated to her worship; and in the same manner, every other day in the week has taken its derivation from the Saxon Deities. See Verstegan, cap. III. p. 69—77. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Sammes British Ant. 352.

[2] Ranulph Higden Polychron. Gale's Scriptores, lib. V. p. 222.

[3] Gildas, p. 7.

[4] Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

with his brother, he had ſerved under Valentinian the third in the Roman armies.[1]

When the deputies returned into Britain, and reported the ſucceſs of their embaſſy, there was great rejoicing in the court of Vortigern;[2] and ſoon after, the Saxon auxiliaries landed at Ebsfleete in the iſland of Thanet, the place, which by previous agreement was allotted for their reſidence.[3] Under the influence of thoſe fears which ever agitate guilty minds, it is natural to ſuppoſe the arrival of his new allies would be a matter of comfort and pleaſure to the Britiſh king.[4] To ſhew them greater honour, he went in perſon to meet the Saxons, and waited their landing on the ſea ſhore; he there received them with extraordinary careſſes, entertained them with feaſts ſeveral days, and after he had ſettled their ſtipulated pay to avoid the cauſes of future diſcontents, led them againſt the Picts and Scots,[5] who at this time had penetrated as far as Stamford.[6] That they might give an early impreſſion of their valour, Hengiſt placed the Saxons in the front, as the ſtation of danger; and the Britons formed the rear of the army. In this

Ann. Dom. 450.

[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 118. [2] Evans Mirrour in Welſh, p. 98.

[3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 117. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. by Gibſon, p. 12.

[4] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[6] Gale's Script. Ranulph Higden Polychron, lib. V. p. 222.

ſituation,

ſituation, they waited the attack of the enemy, who began the aſſault, as was their cuſtom, by a diſcharge of lances and darts, which made no impreſſion upon the Saxons, who were accuſtomed to fight in a cloſer order with long ſwords and battle axes. At length, after an engagement obſtinately diſputed and bloody, the Picts and Scots were entirely defeated.[1] By this victory the Saxon princes gained a high reputation for valour and military conduct.[2] A few ſubſequent efforts, which were always unproſperous, obliged the Picts and Scots to relinguiſh their conqueſts, and to retreat into their own country. If, upon this fortunate turn in their affairs, the Britons had united under a ſovereign of virtue and ability, had enforced the immediate departure of the Saxons at a time they were few in number, and had eſtabliſhed a naval force, they might, in a great meaſure, have preſerved the public tranquillity, and ſecured, for a time at leaſt, the national independence.

Instead of theſe deciſive and politic meaſures, a ruinous and irreparable one enſued. For Hengiſt, whoſe penetrating mind had ſeen into the deſigns, and critical ſituation of Vortigern; who had obſerved the luxury, negligence, and effeminacy of the Britons, and had noticed the richneſs of their country compared with his own, began at this time to extend his views towards a permanent ſettlement in it;

[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Gale's Scriptores, ibid. [2] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 122.

and

and accordingly he invited a fresh body of his countrymen to assist, and partake in the fruits of the design.[1] He likewise represented to the king the necessity of being possessed of some fortified place, as a security for his troops, and a repository of their spoils; and accordingly desired that he might erect such a fortress. The request of Hengist was at first refused by Vortigern, through fear that it might excite a jealousy among the Britons; however, at length he accomplished his design, by means of an artifice, which if it be true, marked the exceeding simplicity of the times.[2]

Latter End of A. D. 450.

INDUCED by the flattering description which Hengist had given of Britain, a large body of Saxons came over;[3] and among these was the daughter of that prince, the beautiful Rowenna.[4] The arrival of these troops was seen with a jealous eye by many of the Britons, who were justly alarmed at the consequences of introducing into the country so great a number of foreigners.[5] But, Vortigern, the presiding demon in the fate of Britain, whose secret machinations it is probable introduced this reinforcement, either despised the remonstrance of his subjects,[6] or had the address

[1] Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[2] Fabian, p. 71. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 185. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[3] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52.

[4] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Wm. Malmsbury, lib. I. p. 9.

[5] Math. Westm. p. 118. [6] Ibid.

to

to ſilence their fears; and to perſuade them of the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure, on the plauſible pretext that the firſt body of Saxons, from their late loſſes, would be inſufficient to protect them from their enemies.[1]

The intercourſe ſubſiſting between Hengiſt and the Britiſh king had given him the opportunity of obſerving the conſtitutional character of that monarch; and on this baſis he hoped to form an alliance that ſhould ſerve as a cement to their common intereſts, and give ſolidity to his own future deſigns. Having frequently acknowledged his obligations to Vortigern, he requeſted the honour of his company to a feaſt, at the caſtle he had lately erected, that by every entertainment in his power he might expreſs his reſpect and gratitude.[2] Vortigern accepted the invitation to a *ſupper*, and the carouſal was highly magnificent. In the height of their feſtivity, when the wine had circulated, and the mind was open to no other impreſſion than pleaſure, the fair Rowenna appeared in the hall, magnificently dreſt, holding a gold cup in her hand which was full of wine; and having gracefully preſented herſelf upon one knee before the king, thus addreſſed him in her own language, "*Waes heal hlaford Cyning*, or, Be of health lord king." Agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſudden appearance of a beau-

[1] Evans Mirrour. p. 99.

[2] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 9. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 126.

tiful

tiful lady kneeling before him, the king demanded of his chamberlain, who was the interpreter, the nature of her ſuit.[1] He was informed, that the princeſs Rowenna accoſted him after the manner of her country, where it was uſual at carouſals, for any one who ſhall drink to another to cry *waſheil*; the perſon to whom he thus ſpeaks ſhall anſwer, *Drynk-heil*; then he who firſt cried *waſheil*, drinks, and preſents him with the cup. While the interpreter was explaining to Vortigern the nature of this gothic feſtivity, that prince ſmiled upon Rowenna, and ſaid to her in the Saxon language "*Drynk heil*, or *drink the health*;"[2] upon this the princeſs drank a little out of the cup, and preſented it gracefully to the king, who then, agreeably to the cuſtom, gave her a ſalute. She immediately retired, with the profoundeſt reſpect, out of the king's preſence.[3] The uncommon beauty of the princeſs, the gracefulneſs of her manners, and the touching ſingularity of the action, impreſſed on him when he was heated with wine, entirely faſcinated the ſoul of Vortigern, and left no traces of any other ſentiments in his mind, than thoſe of love and deſire. To increaſe ſtill more this amorous frenzy, many impediments were artfully thrown by Hengiſt in the way of his paſſion.[4] But the infatuated monarch, inflamed with deſire, diſregarded every

[1] Jo. Roſs. Ant. Warw. Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 56. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127.

[2] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127.

[3] Fabian, p. 72. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 187.

[4] William Malmſbury, p. 9.

obſtacle

obſtacle which the dictates of prudence, religion, and honour had oppoſed to his wiſhes. He immediately removed the chief impediment by divorcing his wife who had borne him three ſons;[1] and having married the Saxon princeſs, he inveſted Hengiſt with the ſovereignty of Kent, violently wreſting that territory from its original proprietor; he likewiſe put him in poſſeſſion of the three counties of Eſſex, Suffolk and Middleſex.[2]

The marriage of Vortigern ſo oppoſite to the ideas of a ſuperſtitious age, his late munificence to Hengiſt ſo contrary to juſtice, with his open partiality for the Saxons, ſpread in every place indignation and alarm.[3] But while the Britons employed themſelves only in complaints and unavailing diſcontent, the politic Hengiſt, ſenſible that guilt had made the king ſubſervient, and of conſequence a dupe, to his deſigns, induced him to give his conſent for a further reinforcement of Saxons;[4] by infuſing into his mind the danger of his ſituation, from the revolt of his ſubjects univerſally diſaffected, and the probable deſign of Ambroſius,[5] to aſſert his right to the crown and revenge

[1] Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127. Warton's Engliſh Poetry from Geoff. Monmouth.

[2] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9.

[3] Matth. Weſt. p. 117. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 59. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 128. [4] Fabian, p. 72.

[5] The ſon of the Britiſh king Conſtantine, who, after his brother's death, retired into Armorica for protection.

the murder of his brother Conſtans.[1] In conſequence of this a large body of Saxons arrived under the command of Abiſa, the brother of Hengiſt, and of his ſon Octa.[2] Theſe leaders landed in the iſlands of the Orcades, and having ſubdued theſe, and obliged the Picts to evacuate the Northumbrian territory, ſettled in the country which they had abandoned.[3] The Saxons, at firſt, only occupied the lands upon the eaſtern ſhore, which lie to the north of the Tyne; they afterwards advanced by ſlow degrees to the ſouth, and diſpoſſeſſed the Britons of the country as far as the Humber.[4]

•Ann. Dom. 452.

A FRIENDSHIP cemented by principles ſo intereſted and baſe, as thoſe which ſubſiſted in the minds of Hengiſt and Vortigern, muſt be of neceſſity precarious, and was not likely to be of longer duration than the motives which formed the alliance. On the acceſſion of ſtrength which he received by the arrival of ſo conſiderable a force, Hengiſt immediately threw off the maſk. He no longer paid any reſpect to the perſon of Vortigern, and under the pretence of keeping up the number of his forces, he continually increaſed them by freſh[5] ſupplies which were ſent him from

[1] Math. Weſt. p. 117.

[2] W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Nennius, cap. XXXVII. Bertram's edition.

[3] W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Nennius, cap. XXXVII.

[4] Rapin, Vol. I. p. 32.

[5] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV.

the

the continent, without the knowledge, and even without deigning to ask the permission, of the king. When the first body of Saxons came into Britain, they had a stipulated pay allowed them,[1] which, it is probable, consisted both of money and provisions, beside the island of Thanet, which was allotted for their residence.[2] The first condition not having been duly performed,[3] or perhaps under that pretext, Hengist at this time demanded the pay or provisions for the whole number of Saxons in his army; and insolently threatened in case of refusal, that they would do themselves justice by the force of arms. This demand, however oppressive, was instantly complied with, to take from the Saxons every plausible ground of contention. Still rising in their demands from the late concession, their hostile designs appeared without disguise, and were discovered to be of the most dangerous tendency.[4] In this moment of danger, when the Britons seemed destitute of every manly and virtuous exertion, they suddenly rose into a degree of wisdom and spirit which, for a time, gave a fortunate turn to their affairs.

The folly and the crimes of Vortigern had rendered him the object of universal detestation; in consequence of which

[1] Math. Westm. p. 116.

[2] W. Malmsbury, lib. I. p. 9. [3] Verstegan, chap. V. p. 128.

[4] Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Verstegan, cap. V. p, 128.

Ann. Dom. 464. he was depoſed from the throne by a general aſſembly of the ſtates, and the crown was given to his eldeſt ſon Vortimer.[1]

The talents of this prince exerciſed in a vigorous oppoſition to the Saxons, fully juſtified the choice of his country. The firſt meaſures of his reign were prudent and deciſive. He propoſed to the Saxons, that they might retire unmoleſted out of Britain; he ſeparated his own ſhips from theirs, and having protected his fleet with a large body of his troops, he poſted the remainder of his army in a ſtrong ſituation.[2] Alarmed at this formidable appearance and ſpirited activity of Vortimer, the Saxons applied to the Picts and Scots to join in alliance againſt the common enemy.[3] Theſe people readily agreed to the invitation; and with the Saxons already ſtationed in thoſe parts, formed a conſiderable force in the north. In the mean time, that a junction might not be formed of the two armies, Vortimer ſuddenly attacked the Saxons on their own ground in Kent, under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa. This battle was fought at Ailsford, and diſputed with great obſtinacy, but at length was decided in

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. Fabian's Chron. p. 73. Matth. Weſtm. p. 118.

[2] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 49.

[3] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 57. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222.

favour

favour of the Britons.[1] Amidſt the ſlaughter of the day, Horſa, and Cartigern the younger brother of Vortimer, fell by each other's hands.[2] The Britons little accuſtomed to the ſmiles of fortune, were animated by this victory to purſue their ſucceſs; and in ſeveral battles which followed, they ſeem in general to have had the advantage.[3] The laſt action is ſaid to have been ſo deciſive that the Saxons were forced to retreat into the iſland of Thanet.[4] The ſame good fortune, likewiſe, favoured their arms in the north, againſt the combined forces of the Picts, and the Saxons under Octa.[5] Diſpirited by ſo many defeats upon land, Hengiſt, changing his plan of operation, determined the diſpute ſhould be decided at ſea; and as ſoon as his ſhips were manned with the choiceſt of his ſoldiers, he ſailed to the Britiſh fleet; but Vortimer, equal to every emergency, whoſe activity and valour infuſed a ſpirit into his ſoldiers, was prepared to receive him, though inferior to the Saxons in the number and ſize of his veſſels. In this action, contending for the fate of Britain on its proper element, Vortimer gained the advantage, took ſeveral of the enemies ſhips, and entirely diſperſed their fleet.[6] Pur-

[1] Math. Weſtm. p. 119. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129.
[2] Fabian, p. 75.
[3] Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores.
[4] Fabian, p. 76. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129.
[5] Berkeley's Navel Hiſt. Eng. p. 49. [6] Ibid.

ſuing his good fortune, he renewed his attacks upon land, drove the Saxons into the iſland of Thanet; and at length obliged Hengiſt with his troops, who on this occaſion deſerted their women and children, to retire into Germany in order to procure farther ſupplies.[1] After this event, he collected his fleet which had been diſperſed in the late action, and his army was ſoon reinforced by numbers who crouded to his ſtandard on account of his brilliant ſucceſs.[2]

The proſperity, which had juſt begun to dawn upon Britain, was ſoon clouded by the reſentment and ambition of a woman. Since the diſgrace of Vortigern, that monarch had been impriſoned in the city of Caer Leon, or Cheſter; and during his confinement had behaved with general propriety, having given his ſon wiſe and faithful counſels, and paid him a *reſpectful obedience.* This decent or politic conduct, and the recollection of the great qualities which he really poſſeſſed, or perhaps the natural fickleneſs of the people, formed a party in his favour, and drew him out of that general odium in which he had been for ſome time immerſed.[3]

In this ſtate of affairs, Rowenna, incited by revenge, and anxious to regain the dignity ſhe had loſt, meditated the

[1] Grafton's Chr. p. 89. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. Matt. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtoriar. p. 119.

[2] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 49. [3] Fabian, p. 76.

murder

murder of Vortimer. For this purpoſe ſhe engaged in her ſervice by the promiſes of a great reward, a young man, who, diſguiſed in the habit of a gardener, it is ſaid, appeared before the king one morning, while taking the air in his garden, and preſented him with a noſegay of flowers, which was ſprinkled with poiſon.[1] As ſoon as the king was ſenſible of its effects, and that his death was inevitable, he called into his preſence the nobility; exhorted them to a manly defence of their country; and required, that after his death they ſhould erect a ſepulchre on the ſea ſhore, and fix it in the port where the Saxons uſually landed;[2] imagining the image and relics of a dead warrior, would infuſe the ſame terror, which he himſelf had inſpired when alive. The Britiſh nobles, however, not adopting the idle deluſion of their maſter, or, what is more probable, negligent of his commands, interred him at Caer Ludd[3] or London. Ann. Dom. 468.

The levity, which we have frequently noticed as a natural defect in the Britiſh character, appears at this juncture to have influenced the national council. For in that aſſembly, by an unaccountable caprice, Vortigern was re-

[1] Evans Mirrour, p. 106, from an old Manuſcript. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. Fabian, p. 76. Mat. Weſtm. p. 120. Flores Hiſtoriarum. Theſe writers all agree that he was poiſoned.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 192.

[3] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 192.

elected to the sovereign dignity;[1] the same man who a few years before had been solemnly deposed from the throne, as a traitor to his country.

Thus far the machinations of Rowenna had succeeded to her wishes: she had at length attained to her former grandeur by wading through the blood of her son-in-law; and what is but too probable, with the connivance of her infatuated husband. For this prince, at the instigation of his wife, sent intelligence of the late events into Germany, and desired that Hengist would come into Britain, privately, and with a small train; lest, if he came over with a larger force, he should be opposed by the united power of the Britons.[2] When Hengist acquainted his followers with the news, and proposed the conquest of Britain, they expressed great reluctance to the enterprise, on account of its uncertainty and danger; as they had found by experience that the Britons were brave when properly roused into action. Hengist had the address to remove these impressions, and to raise the hopes of his countrymen; telling them, that though the Britons were brave, they were nevertheless inferior to themselves in policy, and in the stratagems of war.[3]

[1] Fabian, p. 76. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 193. Gale's Script. Polichron. R. Higden. p. 222. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 229.

[2] Matt. Westm. p. 120. [3] Evans Mirrour, p. 107.

Thus

Thus allured by the flattering aſſurances of Hengiſt, four thouſand Saxons embarked under his command.[1] When the Saxons approached the Britiſh coaſt, they found that the inhabitants, under the command of Vortigern, ſeemed fully determined to oppoſe their landing.[2] Intelligence of this being privately ſent by Rowenna to her father, the Saxon chief had recourſe to an expedient ſuggeſted by his wily and fertile imagination, as well as from a knowledge of the people, with whom he had to act. In this artifice the weakneſs or the treachery of Vortigern was employed. Hengiſt ſent to aſſure that monarch, that his purpoſe in coming into Britain was not to offer any violence to the kingdom; but only to make a vigorous oppoſition againſt his ſon Vortimer, whom, he artfully pretended, he thought had been alive.[3] It was likewiſe propoſed by Hengiſt, that an interview ſhould take place between them, and that each of the chiefs ſhould meet at the place appointed, attended by the moſt eminent of his train;[4] and in order to baniſh every idea of hoſtile intention, it was artfully ſuggeſted by the Saxon, that both parties ſhould appear without their arms. The propoſal was agreed to by the king; the time of meeting was fixed for the May

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 129.

[2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130.

[3] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. [4] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130.

following; and the place appointed for the interview was probably at Stone-henge upon Salisbury plains.[1]

In the mean time, Hengist, having assembled his chieftains, laid open to them his design,[2] that under the colour of meeting the Britons for the purposes of peace, and to establish a lasting alliance, he intended to murder the chiefs who should attend Vortigern to the interview;[3] that by striking so decisive a blow, he might cut the sinews of future resistance. At the same time he gave orders, that his train who attended the meeting should carry knives concealed in their sleeves, that when the signal was given, each of them should instantly stab the person who sat next to him,[4] and he closed this infernal order by requiring them to "behave like men, and to shew no mercy[5] to any person but to the king."

Notwithstanding the many proofs the Saxons had given of their perfidy, the Britons, with a degree of credulity peculiar to themselves, fell into the snare, and came unwarned to the place appointed for the interview;[6] where, by the contrivance of Hengist, they were placed with his

[1] Matt. Westm. p. 130. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 130.
[2] Evans Mirrour, p. 109. [3] Fabian, p. 77.
[4] Matt. Westm. p. 120. [5] Fabian, p. 77.
[6] Math. Westm. p. 120.

train alternately at the tables, under the pretence of confidence, and of a friendly intercourſe with each other.[1] When the feſtivity was at the height, and probably in the unguarded moments of intoxication, Hengiſt gave the ſignal agreed on *Hem cowr ſeaxes* or take your *ſeaxes*. At that inſtant every Saxon drew out his knife, and plunged it into the boſom of the perſon who ſat next to him. Above three hundred of the Britiſh nobility, the moſt eminent for their talents in the council or in the field, periſhed in this bloody carouſal.[2] Vortigern was ſpared in the general carnage, though detained a priſoner by Hengiſt;[3] probably with no other deſign than as a cover to a ſubſequent act of the Britiſh prince, which carries with it a ſtrong appearance of baſeneſs; for in order to obtain his liberty, he made an aſſignment to the Saxon chief of the counties of Norfolk and Suſſex, and alſo confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his former territories.[4]

Ann. Dom. 472.

The news of this maſſacre, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, ſpread among the Britons the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror; which

[1] Evans Mirrour of paſt ages, p. 109.

[2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Gale's Script. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Theſe writers differ reſpecting the number ſlain.

[3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 131. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 10. R. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Fabian, p. 77.

[4] Nennius, cap. XLVII. according to this writer, Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex.

was probably heightened by a deep ſuſpicion of their ſovereign having acted a ſecondary part in a ſcene ſo cruel and perfidious. The evident partiality which Vortigern had ſhewn to the Saxons,[1] and his general flagitious conduct,[2] had by this time rendered him almoſt univerſally deteſted.[3] Covered with confuſion and reproach, he withdrew into the wilds of Caernarvonſhire;[4] but though that ſolitary deſert might conceal him from his injured country, it could not protect him from the conſciouſneſs of guilt, or of folly in the moſt prenicious extreme.

THE Britons, having been deceived by the late appearance of friendſhip, and neglecting alſo to provide againſt future contingencies, had diſmiſſed thoſe forces, which under Vortimer, their late prince, had gained ſo many victories, and nearly eſtabliſhed their freedom. At this juncture, it is ſaid, they had only ſeven thouſand men, who were fit for ſervice in arms;[5] a force which was by no means equal to the great power of the Saxons, rendered now more ferocious from a ſenſe of their late barbarity. That event was only the prelude to a ſcene of a more extenſive miſery; for the Saxons, at this time, ravaged the whole country from the weſtern to the eaſtern ſea.[6] In the courſe of their ravages,

[1] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 37. [2] Math. Weſtm. p. 128.
[3] Ibid. p. 121.
[4] Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 310, in Script. poſt. Bedam.
[5] Evans Mirrour, p. 110. [6] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

private

private dwellings and public edifices, with the ſacred altars, were levelled with the ground: the common people were put to death without mercy: even venerable prelates ſhared the ſame fate; and the prieſts themſelves were ſlain, at the altar performing the duties of their office.[1] The bitter animoſity, which uſually attends difference in religion, increaſed the natural fierceneſs of a barbarous people. From this ſcene of miſery ſome of the Britons having fled for ſhelter into the mountains or woods, were purſued by the enemy and there ſlain; others retired into foreign countries, probably to Armorica their uſual aſylum in diſtreſs; and many of them, driven to the laſt extreme of wretchedneſs, gave themſelves up to ſlavery.[2]

Vortigern having deſerted, or what is more probable, having been depoſed from, the throne, the Britons turned their eyes to Ambroſius,[3] of the houſe of Cornwall, and the brother of Conſtans, their late ſovereign, who had been murdered by Vortigern. This prince, and his brother Uthur Pendragon, had retired from the tyranny of that uſurper, to their uncle the king of Armorica.[4] By the aſſiſtance of that prince, Aurelius Ambroſius, with his brother, landed in Britain at the head of a large body of forces, and was Ann. Dom. 481.

[1] Gildas, p. 8. [2] Ibid. Bede. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.
[3] Gildas, p. 9. Bede, lib. I. cap. XVI. p. 53.
[4] Math. Weſtm. p. 113.

inſtantly

inftantly raifed to the throne.[1] Influenced by motives both of a public and private nature, detefting Vortigern as a traitor to his country, and the murderer of his brother, and afraid of the cabals[2] of a powerful party in his favour, Ambrofius determined in his firft enterprife, to free himfelf from a dangerous rival. By a rapid movement, he came fo fuddenly upon Vortigern, that the Britifh prince had fcarcely time to fly to his retreat in Caernarvonfhire. To this place he was purfued by Ambrofius, and his caftle invefted; which was burnt to the ground, either by accident, or by the means employed in the fiege.[3] This prince, in his old age, and after a turbulent reign of thirty-three years, perifhed in the flames,[4] together with all his women, one of which it is faid was his own daughter,[5] who lived with him in a ftate of inceft.[6] The odium which purfued the memory of Vortigern, mingling with the fuperftition of the age, hath affigned his death to the immediate interpofition of heaven.

Ann. Dom. 481.

In the mean time, many of thofe Britons who inhabited the country poffeffed by Hengift, in abhorrence of the cruel

[1] Math. Weftm. p. 128. Rowland Mon. Antiq. p. 184. [2] Fabian, p. 72.

[3] Matt. Weftm. p. 329. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 231.

[4] Nennius, cap. XLVIII. Verftegan, chap. V. p. 132.

[5] Nennius, cap. XXXVIII.

[6] Fabian, p. 79. This prince had by his firft wife three fons, Vortimer, Catigern, and Pafcens; and he had one fon named Fauftus by his own daughter.

and perfidious ſcene he had lately acted at Stone-henge, fled into other provinces, and by their deſertion left his territories in a great meaſure without people or cultivation.[1] To remedy this evil, and to oppoſe the popular adminiſtration, and ſpirited conduct of Ambroſius, Hengiſt invited over a freſh body of Saxons, offering them a part of his dominions for their reſidence. In conſequence of this offer, a chieftain, named Ella, came over with a body of forces, and landed on the coaſt of Suſſex; and after a conteſt of ſeveral years, eſtabliſhed them in that country. The name of Suſſex was given to this territory, on account of its being the reſidence of the ſouth Saxons.[2] This ſupply having given ſtability to his new dominions, Hengiſt planted a colony to the eaſt of his own ſettlement in Kent, which took the name of Eſſex from the eaſt Saxons; he likewiſe placed another in that diſtrict which lies between Suſſex and Eſſex, and which was from thence called Middleſex or the middle Saxons.[3]

The death of his rival ſeated Ambroſius more firmly on the throne. So very popular was the name of this prince in Britain, that numbers crouded to fight under his ſtandard.[4] The Britons of Cambria likewiſe united Ann. Dom. 481.

[1] Rapin Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 35.

[2] Gale's Scriptores, Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224. Matt. Weſtm. p. 130. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 311. Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Saxon Chr. p. 14.

[3] Rapin, vol. I. p. 35.

[4] Matt. Weſtm. p. 128.

in

in the common cauſe, and joined his army.[1] With this force he marched againſt the Saxons in the country beyond the Humber and intirely defeated them. Hengiſt their leader was taken priſoner. The Saxon prince being brought into the preſence of Ambroſius, was inſtantly beheaded,[2] as an act of juſtice which was due to his deſolated country, and to the maſſacre at Stone-henge; the army likewiſe threw a heap of ſtones over his grave, as a memorial of his infamy, and a monument of their indignation.[3] The Britiſh prince then laid ſiege to the city of York, in which place, Octa the ſon of Hengiſt, and Eſca his brother had taken refuge; but theſe chiefs were ſoon obliged to ſurrender, upon condition, that they and the Saxon ſoldiers ſhould retire into the country near Scotland.[4]

After this event Ambroſius turned his arms againſt Ella, the king of the South Saxons, over whoſe forces, it appears, that at firſt he gained ſome advantage.[5] He then with the city of York, recovered London, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury;[6] all of which cities had been ſeized by the Saxons after the maſſacre at Stone-henge.[7]

[1] Evans Mirrour, p. 116.

[2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 131, 132. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Script.

[3] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 240. Sammes Ant. Britain, p. 474.

[4] Matt. Weſtm. p. 132. [5] Matt. Weſtm. p. 134.

[6] Geoff. Monmouth, cap. IX. p. 243. [7] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120.

On

On the difgrace or the death of Vortigern, his third fon named Pafcens retired into Germany, with a view to induce the Saxons to fupport his claim upon the crown, and join the common caufe in the conqueft of Britain. Having had the addrefs to procure a body of troops, he landed on the coaft of Scotland, to join the Saxons who had lately been permitted by Ambrofius to fettle in that country.[1] This prince, receiving intelligence of the invafion, inftantly marched to oppofe the fon of Vortigern, whofe army he entirely routed. On this defeat, Pafcens failed over into Ireland to procure affiftance from a king of that country; by this prince he was cordially received, and fupplied with a body of feven thoufand men. With this reinforcement he landed at Milford Haven, and from thence ravaged the city of St. Davids[2] in Pembrokefhire, and all the country around it.

At this time, Ambrofius lay fick at Caer Went, or Winchefter.[3] The news of his ficknefs being brought to Pafcens, he determined to derive fome advantage from fo favourable an incident, and inftantly fuggefted the defign of murdering the king. There was at that time in his train a Saxon, named Eppa, who was an artful perfon, and of great addrefs; he had likewife fome knowledge of the Britifh language, and was acquainted with phyfic. This

[1] Matt. Weftm. p. 135. [2] Ibid. Fabian, p. 81.
[3] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 252.

man was chosen as a proper instrument for his purpose, and, that he might more easily gain access to the king, appeared in the characters of a priest and a physician.[1] Under favour of this disguise, Eppa was introduced into the palace of Ambrosius, and had the address to prescribe a medicine for that prince in quality of physician, in which he had taken care privately to mix poison.[2] Ambrosius being dead, in consequence of the poisonous medicine he had taken, the traitor instantly made his escape.[3] This gallant prince was interred in the convent of Ambrius, supposed to be on Salisbury plains.[4] Ann. Dom. 495. About this period, Cerdic, a Saxon chieftain, with his son Cenric landed in Britain, and at length founded the kingdom of Wessex or the West Saxons.[5]

On the death of Ambrosius his brother Uthur Pendragon was instantly crowned king.[6]

Soon after the accession of this prince, the Saxons having gathered strength, had again recourse to arms, and destroying

[1] Matt. Westm. p. 135. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253.

[2] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253. Fabian, p. 82.

[3] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253.

[4] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 274.

[5] Saxon Chron. p. 15. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 313. Script. post Bædam. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224.

[6] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 58. Matt. Westm. p. 136. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185.

all the fortified places from Scotland to the city of York, they at length laid ſiege to Alclwyd, the capital of the Strath Clwyd kingdom. Uthur Pendragon inſtantly marched to the relief of that place, where a battle enſued, which after a doubtful conflict, at length ended in favour of the Britons.[1] In this action, the Saxon leaders, Eſka and Coſa, the ſon and couſin of Hengiſt, were taken priſoners[2] and were confined in London: but theſe chiefs did not long remain in captivity; for having corrupted their guards, they eſcaped out of priſon, and went over into Germany, whence they returned into Britain with a freſh ſupply of ſoldiers. The Saxon chiefs, once more tried the fortune of war with Uthur, in a bloody and well diſputed action at Verulam.[3] On that day, which once again might have given a deciſive iſſue to their fortunes, the Britons gained a compleat victory; and the two leaders, Eſka and Octa, were ſlain amidſt the general ſlaughter of the Saxons. During the action, Uthur being indiſpoſed, was carried in a litter through the ranks to encourage the army by his preſence. This event was immediately followed by the ſiege of Verulam, and after a bloody reſiſtance that city was taken by the king of Britain.[4] At length, after a reign of ſeventeen years of ſervice and of glory, Uthur Pendragon ended his days by poiſon. His death

[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 136. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 138. [4] Ibid. p. 139.

happened at Verulam, immediately after the victory he had gained there. For his indisposition having increased, it was his constant custom to drink water every day from a certain fountain at a little distance from that city, into which some of the Saxons, suborned for that purpose, had contrived to infuse poison.[1] The body of this prince was carried to the convent of Ambrius, and was interred there, near the grave of his brother Ambrosius.[2]

The recital of the extraordinary manner in which these princes have ended their days, may possible be attended with the charge of credulity, or of affecting to enliven the subject by exhibiting pictures of whatever is striking or uncommon. In extenuation of this charge it is replied, that the facts have been taken from ancient writers, and are consistent with the manners of that barbarous age; and that such acts of violence were certainly frequent in the more enlightened period of the sixteenth century, at which time, it is well known, the art of poisoning had attained a high degree of refinement.

Ann. Dom. 510. At this period, Maelgwyn, the eldest son of Caswallon-law-ker, reigned in Gwyneth or North Wales, and like his father had a pre-eminency over the other princes of Cambria.[3]

[1] Matt. Westm. p. 139. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 273.
[2] Ibid. p. 274. [3] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 185.

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This prince was nephew to king Arthur[1] by the fiſter of that monarch, and had received a liberal education under the care of the celebrated Iltutus;[2] and whatever were the vices which juſtly ſtained his character, he was eminent for ſtature, valour, and other talents for command, which naturally raiſed men, in times like theſe, into diſtinction and power.[3] Maelgwyn was a formidable enemy to the Saxons, by his abilities, and by the ſtrenuous oppoſition he made againſt them: he likewiſe conquered the Iſland of Man, and the Hebrides,[4] and in conſequence of this was ſtiled Draco Inſularis. This prince uſually reſided at Diganwy in Caernarvonſhire.[5] During this period, the naval power, not only of Britain but alſo of Cambria, appears to have been an object of attention, and to have been eſtabliſhed in ſome degree on a reſpectable footing.[6]

ON the death of Uthur Pendragon, his ſon Arthur was elected to the Britiſh throne.[7] Diveſted of thoſe illuſions, that fancy or affection has raiſed, and which has ever attended the memory of this prince, there ſtill remain centred in his character thoſe qualities which form a great warrior, Ann. Dom. 517.

1 Langhorne's Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 90.
2 One of the primitive Fathers of the Cambrian church.
3 Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 225.
4 Rowland's Mon. 147, 148. 5 Ibid.
6 Seldens Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. IX. p, 1310.
7 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

and

and the milder virtues which conſtitute whatever is amiable and good.

After the ceremony of Arthur's coronation was performed at Caer Lleon ar-Wiſke[1] in Monmouthſhire, he marched againſt the Saxons towards the north; and meeting with Colgrin, a Saxon prince, on the banks of the river Douglas, a battle enſued, in which the latter was defeated. After this, Arthur, being apprized of a meditated attack on his camp, in the following night, by Pandulph the brother of Colgrin, ſent a body of forces to intercept the enemy, many of whom were ſlain, and the remainder put to flight. Then, king Arthur laid ſiege to York, but being informed that a large body of Saxons under the command of Cerdic had landed in Scotland, he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to London.[2]

In this ſituation, by virtue of his authority as ſovereign or chief ruler of the kingdom, he demanded the aſſiſtance of Caron king of Scotland, of Maelgwyn the ſovereign of North Wales, of Meiric prince of South Wales, and of Cattwr the duke of Cornwall.[3] He likewiſe, by advice of his council, deſired the immediate ſupport of his nephew,

[1] Caer Lleon ar Wiſke or the city of Legions upon the river Uſke. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 82.

[2] Langhorn's Chron. Angl. p. 60. Math. Weſtm. p. 139, 140.

[3] Evans Mirrour, p. 127, 128. from an old Welſh Manuſcript.

Hoel,

Hoel, the king of Armorica.[1] The Britons had uniformly experienced from that country the most friendly assistance; and Hoel, it is said, brought fifteen thousand men to the aid of his uncle.[2] Ann. Dom. 518.

Thus strongly reinforced, the British prince marched towards Lincoln, where meeting with the enemy, a battle ensued; in which the Saxons were defeated with the loss of six thousand men. The remainder flying into Scotland, took refuge in a wood, but were soon obliged to surrender to Arthur, on the conditions of giving hostages, of yielding up all their effects and spoils, and of retiring into their own country.[3]

Repenting of their late submission, those Saxons who had just before been defeated in Scotland, returned with an increased strength into Britain; and having formed a junction with Cerdic, and the different bodies under the command of Pascens and Eppa, invested Bath;[4] in hopes that the Britons, to preserve a place of such importance, would attempt to raise the siege, and of consequence bring on a battle. In

[1] Geoffrey Monmouth, p. 279. [2] Matt. Westm. p. 140.

[3] Matt. Westm. p. 140. Langhorn, Ch. Ang. p. 61.

[4] Called by Ptolomy, Aquæ Calidæ, or hot water, by Antoninus, Aquæ Solis, or water of the sun, by the Britons, Caer Badon, and by the Saxons, Bathe; said to be built by king Bladud a British prince. Humfrey Lhuyd's, p. 19. Evans, p. 121. Matt. Westm. p. 141.

this

this expectation they were not deceived, as Arthur determined to run every risk rather than suffer that place to be taken.

The critical nature of the times not admitting of delay, he immediately sent summonses to the North, to Oxford,[1] London, Cornwall, and into Wales, with orders to the different chiefs to exert themselves in this dangerous situation of their country.[2] His summons was instantly obeyed by a chieftain of North Wales of the name of Nathan Llwyd, who joined him with a body of five thousand men.[3] Having assembled his forces, king Arthur advanced to meet the enemy near Bath. The action on the first day between the two parties was obstinately disputed, great numbers on each side being slain; and though Arthur exerted his usual bravery and military talents, neither the Saxons nor Britons obtained any advantage.[4] Both armies kept the field, waiting for the return of day to renew the fight. The Saxons during the night had posted themselves upon a rising ground called Bannesdown, a situation of great importance, though it had been neglected by both armies the day before. On the return of light, Arthur perceiving his error, and the advantage of such a post, determined to dislodge them,

[1] Called by the Britons Rhyd-Ychen or the ford of Oxen, by the Saxons Oxenford. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

[2] Evans Mirrour, p. 120. [3] Ibid. p. 121.

[4] Matt. Westm. p. 141. Langhorni Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 61.

which

which he accomplished after a very long and bloody resistance. Animated by the daring spirit of their prince, who rushed sword in hand amidst the ranks of the enemy, exhibiting astonishing proofs of valour and prowess, the Britons made a furious assault upon the Saxons; and perceiving some disorder as they retreated down the hill, pushed them with still more vigour, and in the end entirely defeated them.[1] In this day's action, two Saxon chiefs, Colgrin and Pandulph were slain. After the battle, Cerdic retreated with the remains of his army to the island of Thanet, to which place he was pursued by Cattur duke of Cornwall.[2]

Ann. Dom. 520.

AN unexpected incident happening at this time, gave the Saxons leisure to breathe, and probably saved them from ruin. This event was occasioned by a diversion made in the north by the Picts in alliance with the Saxons; these people knowing that Arthur was at a distance, and that his nephew Hoel the king of Armorica lay sick at Caer Alcluid,[3] a town standing on the river Clyde, took advantage of these favourable incidents, and laid siege to that place; concluding they should take it before any relief could be given. The activity and rapid movements of Arthur disappointed their views. Forsaking the advantage which might have arisen by pursuing his late success, in the true spirit of chivalry, he flew

[1] Matt. Westm. p. 141. Langhorni, Chr. Angl. p. 62.
[2] Matt. Westm. p. 141. [3] Dun Barton.

to the aſſiſtance of his nephew, and inſtantly raiſed the ſiege. In reſentment of this act of hoſtility in the Picts, which had wreſted from him the fruits of his victory, Arthur laid waſte their country; and it was only preſerved from meditated ruin by the interceſſion of the Scottiſh biſhops.[1]

The late victories having for the preſent ſecured the public peace, Hoel the king of Armorica returned home.[2]

After the defeat of Cerdic, this prince had remained quiet in his own dominions expecting a ſupply from Germany.[3] On the arrival of this reinforcement he ravaged the Britiſh territories; and Arthur, though weakened by the numerous battles he had fought, endeavoured by every means in his power to repel ſo formidable an enemy.

The fortune of the war remained for ſometime uncertain; but Cerdic having at length gained a compleat victory, the Britons were thrown into deſpair of being ever able to ſubdue the Saxons. Under the influence of this impreſſion, and fearing leſt he ſhould wear out the ſtrength of his remaining troops by continuing the war, Arthur found it neceſſary to negotiate with Cerdic, and

[1] Langhorni Chron. Angl. p. 63. Math. Weſtm. p. 141. Geoff. of Monmouth, p. 288.

[2] Rapin Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 37.

[3] Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Langhorni, Chron. Angl. Reg. p. 68.

to

to cede to him a part of his dominions rather than to risk the whole upon the issue of arms. In consequence of this, a peace was concluded by the surrender of the counties of Hants and Somerset. The Saxon prince, fatigued with the toils of a long war and desirous of repose, readily agreed to the terms, and at this time founded the kingdom of Wessex or of the West Saxons.[1]

At this period, the Angles arrived on the eastern coast of Britain, and in the course of time and slow progress of conquest, forced the Britons to abandon that country, on which these people settled, and founded the fifth kingdom by the name of the East Angles.[2] Ann. Dom. 527.

The peace of Armorica having been disturbed by an insurrection in that state, Hoel sent into Britain for assistance, and the martial spirit of Arthur being unemployed at this time, he went in person to the relief of his nephew, and restored the quiet of that country by slaying with his own hands the leader of the rebellion.[3] Cerdic, taking advantage of the absence of Arthur, and encouraged by the late arrival of the Angles, broke the peace; and being seconded by the valour of his son Cenrick, he extended his

[1] Fabian, p. 94. Langhorni, Chr. Ang. Reg. p. 69. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Gale's Script.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg Ang. p. 73. Math. Westm. p. 142.

[3] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 74.

Ann. Dom. 527. conquests, by gaining a signal victory over the Britons at Cerdices-leak, supposed to be in Buckinghamshire.[1] In this situation of affairs Arthur returned from the continent, but his presence in Britain composed, in some measure, the disordered state of his kingdom.[2]

Soon after this event, the king of Armorica, being fearful of an invasion from the *Visigoths*, once more desired the assistance of Arthur; and that prince, deserting the patriotism which in general had directed his conduct, left his own country in this perilous situation to give assistance to his kinsman. Ann. Dom. 530. During his absence, he appointed Mordred his nephew, regent of the kingdom, and intrusted to his care Gueniver his wife.[3] He had scarce left the kingdom, when Cerdic, again taking advantage of his absence, reduced the Isle of Wight.[4] But a blow more fatal to his interests and his feelings immediately followed. The regent, being captived with the beauty of the queen, and regardless of the duties he owed to gratitude and to honour, had a criminal intercourse with that princess, and afterwards publicly married her.[5] There are crimes of such a nature, as to urge men, on the principle of self-preservation, to plunge still deeper in guilt. In such a

[1] Saxon Chron. p. 18. [2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 74.
[3] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 78. [4] Saxon Chron. p. 18.
[5] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 78. Math. Westm. p. 144.

situation

ſituation was the regent, who had no other means of avoiding the juſt vengeance of Arthur, than by accompliſhing his ruin. The more effectually to promote this deſign, he entered into an alliance with Cerdic, and to engage him more ſtrongly in his intereſts, he ceded to him the dutchy of Cornwall, with the counties of Suſſex and Surry, of Berks, Wilts, Devon, and Dorſet.[1] Supported by ſuch a powerful alliance, Mordred was immediately crowned at London.[2]

After a ſtay of five years in Armorica, Arthur returned into Britain.[3] The conduct of that prince, waſting in the ſpirit of quixotiſm ſuch an intereſting period, was ſo oppoſite to the dictates of natural feelings and of policy, ſober reflection is inclined to reject it as a legendary fable. Indeed a judicious recital of events in theſe ages is peculiarly difficult; directed, or rather bewildered in his way by the glimmering of imperfect and partial records, the hiſtorian can only judge of the reality of incidents, by what is probable and conſiſtent. Ann. Dom. 535.

As ſoon as Arthur returned home, he was joined by many officers and ſoldiers, in conſideration of the eſteem and renown he had acquired. With this ſmall body of troops,

[1] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 79.
[2] Ibid. Math. Weſtm. p. 144. Fabian, p. 94.
[3] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82. Math. Weſtm. p. 144.

he

he had to contend with the Saxons, the regent Mordred, and the Picts, who had lately joined in the alliance.[1] However unequal the conteſt in point of numbers, that deficiency was balanced by the abilities of Arthur; who by the reſources of his genius was enabled to carry on the war for ſeven years with great advantage; till at length, purſuing his enemies from one place to another he drove them into Cornwall, and a battle enſued, at Camlan,[2] between the two rivals, which decided the fortune of the war.[3] This action proved fatal to the Britons, as their beſt ſoldiers in both armies were ſlain,[4] and the two princes, engaging with great fury, periſhed by each other's ſword. The traitor Mordred immediately fell by the hand of Arthur,[5] but this prince, ſorely wounded, was carried to Glaſtonbury Abbey, and after lingering a few days was interred there,[6] with Guenïver his ſecond and beſt beloved wife.[7] Thus died by the hand of treaſon, full of days and of glory, the renowned Arthur. Such was the veneration in which the memory of this warrior was held by the Britons, that for many ages they could not be perſuaded he was dead, but fondly expected his return from foreign countries to reinſtate once more the Britiſh empire.

Ann. Dom. 542.

[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82.

[2] Cambden's Brit. p. 194. Holland's Tranſlation.

[3] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 82—88. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid. p. 88.

[7] De Antiq. Glaſtonb. p. 306. Gale's Script.

DURING

During the late reigns the Britons had reached the height of their glory, but the period aſſigned for the cloſe of their empire drew nigh, though the beams which brightened its decline lingered a while in the weſt, till gradually receding from the ſight, not a ſingle ray remained on the horizon.

The death of Arthur decided the fate of Britain. The ſplendour which had diſtinguiſhed the late æra, deriving its luſtre from the virtue of a few individuals, became clouded by oppoſite qualities in the princes of the ſucceeding period. Before Arthur expired, he appointed his nephew Conſtantine, the ſon of Cattwr duke of Cornwall, his ſucceſſor;[1] but this elevation could only extend to his hereditary dominions, as the ſovereignty of Britain was purely elective.[2] However he was called to that dignity Ann. Dom. 542.
by the voice of the people.[3] During his reign, the Saxons, having eſpouſed the cauſe of the ſons of Mordred, with a view no doubt of fomenting diviſions, theſe two princes, after bloody wars with various ſucceſs, were obliged to give up the conteſt. One of theſe unfortunate youths having fled for ſanctuary into the church of St. Amphibalus in Winchester,

[1] Ranulph. Higden. Gale's Script. p. 225. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 86. Math. Weſtm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 358.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 101. Rowland, p. 171. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

[3] Rowland, p. 184.

chester, was there cruelly murdered by Constantine; the other, taking refuge in a convent in London, was a little time after massacred at the altar by the same prince.[1] At length, this king, being harrassed by the Saxons, retired to his hereditary dominions of Cornwall;[2] and, struck with remorse for the late murders, or sinking into the superstition of the age, he renounced the world and engaged in a religious life.[3] This prince was the last king of Britain of the Cornwall family.[4]

Encouraged by the death of Arthur, and the dismay of the Britons in consequence of that event, a large body of Saxons under the command of Ida landed in Yorkshire, and with the consent of their countrymen already settled there, founded the kingdom of Northumberland.[5]

Ann. Dom. 547.

Ann. Dom. 552.

At this period, Maelgwyn the king of Gwyneth endowed the See of Bangor, with lands and franchises:[6] he likewise, about the same time, built the town of that name;[7] and also built or repaired Shrewsbury, and the castle of Harlech.[8] It was at Bangor that this prince, struck perhaps with re-

[1] Ranulph. Higden, p. 225. Gale's Script. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 101. Math. Westm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 359. Gildas Epistola p. 10.

[2] Rowland, Mon. An. 146.

[3] Ibid. p. 187. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 117.

[4] Rowland, Mon. Ant. p. 170.

[5] Saxon Annals, p. 19.

[6] Rowland's Mon. Ant. 187.

[7] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 98.

[8] J. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 65.

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morse for the crimes of his past life, resolved to devote himself to the austerities of a cloister; but he soon renounced that design, and returned to the affairs of government, and, as it is said, to his old habits of criminal pleasures.[1]

At this period, when the Saxons had conquered a great part of Britain, and had made their approaches to the borders of Cambria, that country appears to have been divided into six principalities; and in the present critical situation of affairs, the people of these districts assembled at the mouth of the river Divy, and elected Maelgwyn to the sovereign dignity.[2] The choice of the Britons, in such a dangerous crisis, reflects some degree of honour on this prince, and seems to contradict the character given of him by Gildas, who has censured him in the true spirit of monastic severity. Ann. Dom. 560.

Upon the death of Maelgwyn, his son Rhun succeeded to the government of North Wales.[3] This prince had a long and bloody war with the Saxons of Northumberland; and on his return into Wales he gave great privileges to the inhabitants of Caernarvonshire, as a reward for detaining them so long from their families on that northern Ann. Dom. 560.

[1] Gildas Epistola, p. 12. Gale's Scriptores. Rowland's Mon. Ant. 147.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 63. Verstegan, chap. V. p. 132.

[3] Rowland's Mont. An. 187.

 expedition.

expedition.[1] This prince resided at Caer Rhun in Caernarvonshire;[2] and at his death was succeeded by his son Beli.[3]

Ann. Dom. 586.

At this period, arrived Crida with a numerous body of Saxons, and having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, he founded the kingdom of Mercia, the greatest and the last principality of the Saxon heptarchy.[4] The establishment of these seven kingdoms narrowed the bounds of the British dominions. Pressed on every side by advancing enemies, and weakened with incessant wars, the Britons were at length obliged to retire before the Saxon arms. But they retired indignant, and by slow degrees, to make another struggle for liberty among the mountains of Wales, a country formed by nature to be the last retreat of freedom.

At this period, likewise, many Britons retired into Cornwall and Armorica; and the latter country took the name of Bretaigne,[5] on account of the great number of British refugees who settled there.

The native Britons being in a great measure exterminated, or forced to fly into other countries, and the Saxons having carried on their conquests with the same destructive spirit which distinguished the other northern nations, the govern-

[1] Rowland, Mon. Ant. p. 164. [2] Ibid. p. 148. [3] Ibid. p. 187.
[4] Math. Westm. p. 150. [5] Verstegan, Chap. V. p. 132, 133.

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ment of the conquerors, their laws, manners and language, with the names alſo of many of their cities, villages, rivers and woods,[a] were of conſequence introduced into Britain, and became ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, that almoſt the remembrance of ancient inſtitutions was loſt.

In reflecting on the many cauſes which have contributed to the decline of the Britiſh empire, one will perhaps occur which may be thought more ſtriking than the reſt. This defect in the national character of the Britons was almoſt an uniform negligence in eſtabliſhing a naval power; though experience, and the nature of their ſituation pointed out the expediency of this meaſure, as the only effectual means of contending with the Saxons, and of counteracting their deſigns. This mode of defence was ſo obvious, that it might have ſtruck the minds of any people, more rude than the Britons, who were ſituated in an iſland, and expoſed to continual invaſions.

[a] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 133.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE SAXONS AND WELSH, TO THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT.

THE Britiſh empire being reduced to the narrow limits of Cambria, except the ſmall territories of Cornwall and Strath Cluid, that country about this period took the name of Wales. The inhabitants, likewiſe, with their ancient ſituation loſt the title of Britons, and became diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Welſh. Poſſeſſed of the warlike ſpirit which marked the Britiſh character, they carried into their mountains that rooted inveteracy againſt the Saxons, which hereditary wars, heightened by every injury, would naturally excite. The ſame ſeverity of fortune which diſtinguiſhed the ancient Britons, awaited the deſcendants of that brave people in their laſt aſylum;

as

as the conqueſt of this barren domain became the object of ambition, and policy, to the Saxon and Norman princes.

About this period, the province of *Cymmry Wallia*, or Wales, ſeems to have been divided into ſix principalities, and governed by ſo many Reguli,[1] acknowledging, however, the ſupremacy of the kings of Gwynedh, or North Wales. This region extended two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth;[2] and was ſeparated from *Llhoegr*, or England by the rivers Severn and Dee, and ſurrounded on every other ſide by the Iriſh ocean.[3] The inhabitants in the Britiſh language were denominated *Cymmry*, and they called the Saxons *Saiſon*; and their language *Saeſonaeg*.[4]

Ann. Dom. 599.

At this period Jago ap Beli reigned in North Wales, and founded the Deanry of Bangor.[5] His ſon Cadvan ſoon after ſucceeded to that dignity.[6] The early part of this prince's reign was diſtinguiſhed by the battle of Cheſter,[7] and the memorable maſſacre of the Monks of Bangor.

Ann. Dom. 603.

1 Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 63.

2 Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 57. Verſtegan, chap. I. p. 1.

3 Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 50.

4 Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 13, 51.

5 Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 187.

6 Ibid. p. 188.

7 Called by the Britons Caerlleon-ar-Ddwrdwy, or the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; the Saxons called it Legan leſtre, and afterwards by abbreviation Cheſter; it appears in Antoninus that it was called in Latin Deva from the river Dee. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

Edelfrid the king of Northumberland having gained an advantage over the northern Britons, turned his arms againſt the Welſh, who were then in poſſeſſion of Cheſter. On his arrival near that city, his army being drawn up in front of the enemy, he perceived a body of men without military appearance who were ſtationed in a place of ſecurity. Struck with the novelty of the ſight, he enquired the cauſe, and was told they were monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who had come to offer up their prayers for the proſperous event of the day. Enraged with an oppoſition ſo ſingular in its nature, and ſtimulated by hatred of a religion which threatened the deſtruction of Paganiſm, Edelfrid ordered his army to aſſault this defenceleſs, and pious troop, who had already faſted and prayed for the ſpace of three days. Twelve hundred of theſe unfortunate Religious were cut in pieces; fifty only of the whole number preſent in the battle having eſcaped the enemy's ſword. Brochmael, prince of Powis, having deſerted their protection, had fled out of the field with his ſoldiers, on the firſt advance of the Saxons.

This unfavourable omen might naturally damp the ardour of a people leſs ſuperſtitious than the Welſh: but it ſeems they regarded this act of Edelfrid as an impious ſacrilege; and though in the action which enſued, or in the purſuit, they were terribly ſlaughtered, it appears however, by the great loſs which their enemies ſuffered, that they made

made a ſpirited reſiſtance.[1] Immediately after the battle he marched to Bangor upon the river Dee, and with a barbariſm peculiar to the Goths, deſtructive of thoſe arts which ſoften and improve human nature, he entirely laid waſte that ancient and celebrated ſeminary of learning, and committed to the flames its valuable library.[2] Edelfrid then attempted to penetrate into Wales; but his paſſage over the Dee at Bangor was diſputed by the prince of Powis, who gallantly ſuſtained the charge till relieved by Cadvan the king of North Wales, by Meredyth the king of South Wales, and Bledrus the ſovereign of Cornwall.[3] When the confederated princes had joined their forces, they called in religion to their aid. Before the battle begun, Dunothus, the abbot of Bangor, made an oration to the army, and ordered, that the ſoldiers ſhould kiſs the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Chriſt, and ſhould take up water into their hands out of the river Dee, and drink it in remembrance of his ſacred blood, which was ſhed for them.[4] Animated by this act of devotion, which in theſe times had a powerful influence on the mind, and ſtung with reſentment for the diſgrace and injuries they had lately received, the Welſh encountered the Saxons with

[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 150. Bede, lib. II. cap. II. p. 80. Saxon Chron. p. 25. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 17.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 71.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. 72. Geoffrey Monmouth, p. 369.

[4] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 72.

great bravery, entirely defeated them, with the loſs of above ten thouſand men, and obliged Edelfrid, with the remainder of his army, to retreat into their own country.[1] There was ſomething ſingular in the fortunate event of that day, as an act of retaliative juſtice, and as it ſeverely puniſhed, in the ſight of Bangor, the recent deſolation of its monaſtery.

Immediately after the battle, Cadvan king of North Wales was elected at Cheſter to the ſovereignty of Britain;[2] but in the preſent loſs of Empire, that dignity could extend no farther, than to command the united forces of the remaining Britons. Ann. Dom. 613.

On the death of Cadvan, his ſon Cadwallon ſucceeded to the kingdom of North Wales,[3] and carried his arms into Northumberland againſt Edwin the king of Deira, who had been educated in the court of Cadwallon, and a violent animoſity had ariſen between the two princes.[4] The Britiſh king, advancing againſt the Saxon prince into Northumberland, was routed in a bloody battle by Edwin at Dinwydr or Widdrington; who purſuing his good fortune, Ann. Dom. 635.

[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 371. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 72. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. Langhorni Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 151.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

[4] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 372, 376. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Diſſertation on Britiſh Chron. taken from the Triades.

extended his conquests over all the British territories in Wales, as well as the islands of Mona and Man.[1]

During these transactions Cadwallon had taken refuge in Ireland.[2] After an absence of some years, this prince recovered his dominions. An union of interests having engaged him in an alliance with Penda king of Mercia, the two princes, with their joint forces, made a rapid movement into Yorkshire, and entirely defeated the Northumbrian prince in Hatfield forest.[3] Edwin and his son fell in the battle, and left their country exposed to the ravages of the confederated princes.[4] A scene of desolation followed this victory, but Cadwallon went beyond his Pagan associate in cruelty and merciless ravages.[5]

Ann. Dom. 633.

At this time, very probably on account of his success and ability to carry on the war, Cadwallon was chosen king of the Britons.[6]

Ann. Dom. 635.

[1] Math. Westm. p. 165. Bede's Eccl. Hist. cap. IX. p. 87. Wm. Malmsbury, lib. I. p. 18. Script. post Bædam. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Dissertation on British Chron. taken from the Triades.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Bede, lib. II. cap. XX. p. 101. Brompton's Chron. p. 284.

[4] Saxon Chron. p. 29. Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 176.

[5] Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 182. J. Brompton's Chron. p. 784. Wm. Malmsbury, lib. I. p. 18. Gale's Script.

[6] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

On

On the death of Edwin, Edfridus ſucceeded to the kingdom of Bernicia, and being nearly related to Penda by his mother, fled to the Mercian prince for protection.[1] Cadwallon, it is ſuppoſed, retiring to York, carried on from thence his furious depredations.[2] At this juncture, Oſric aſſumed the crown of Deira, and in hopes by one blow to take revenge for his deſolated country, he inveſted that city; but, in a ſally made by Cadwallon, he was ſlain, and his army defeated.[3] His aſſociate, the king of Bernicia, ſeeing their utmoſt exertions ſink under the ſuperior valour or fortune of the Britiſh prince, attempted to try the arts of negotiation. With this view he came to treat with Cadwallon in perſon with only twelve ſoldiers in his train, but in return for ſuch an inſtance of generous confidence, the Saxon prince, with his attendants, were baſely aſſaſſinated.[4] This outrage fully juſtifies the character of a cruel and faithleſs tyrant, given to this prince by the Saxon writers.[5]

After this act of violence, Cadwallon ſtill continued to deſolate the country, until his career was ſtopped by

[1] Bede, lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 784, 785. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 182.

[2] Math. Weſtm. p. 167. [3] Ibid. Langhorni, Chron. p. 184. Brompton's Chron. p. 785.

[4] Bede Eccl. Hiſt. lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 786. Math. Weſtm. p. 167. Langhorni Chron. p. 184.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66.

Oſwald; who, ſucceeding to the crowns of Deira and Bernicia, united them into the kingdom of Northumberland.[1] This prince was yet in his early youth, and had collected a ſmall and determined band to oppoſe Cadwallon and his victorious army: and when that prince marched to attack the Saxons, he proceeded with all the ſecurity and inſolence which a contempt of enemies, and the pride of victory, are apt to inſpire. But Oſwald, ſenſible of the greatneſs of the object for which he contended, acted with the utmoſt circumſpection. With a view to heighten the ardour of his troops by religious enthuſiaſm, or to draw down proſperity on his arms by an act of devotion, he ordered a croſs to be erected on the field of battle, to ſerve as the ſtandard of the army. At this pious work Oſwald himſelf aſſiſted, and the moment before the trumpet ſounded the charge, he kneeled at the foot of the croſs with all his army, appealed to heaven for the juſtice of his cauſe, and implored its aſſiſtance to confound the inſolence of his enemies. Fortified by theſe acts of piety in their ſovereign, the Saxon troops early in the morning advanced to attack the enemy, and ſtormed their camp. In the action Cadwallon was ſlain, and the Welſh driven into confuſion by the death of their prince, were routed, and almoſt entirely cut in pieces. This battle is ſaid to have happened at Deniſbourne in Northumberland.[2]

[1] Bromton's Chron. p. 785. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.

[2] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. III. cap. II. p. 104. William Malmſbury, lib. I. cap. III. p. 19.

AFTER

AFTER the death of this prince, his ſon Cadwalader succeeded to the principality of North Wales, and to the ideal ſovereignty of Britain.[1] In the courſe of his reign, the irruptions of the Saxons had become more frequent, and a famine, with its uſual attendant a peſtilential diſtemper, had raged in Britain;[2] the conſequent evils of deſolating wars, and of a diſordered police. To avoid the common dangers of his country (a conduct which did not mark his magnanimity) Cadwalader with numbers of his nobility and other ſubjects retired to Alan his kinſman, the king of Bretaigne; in whoſe court he found an hoſpitable reception.[3] From an uniform and perhaps a ſingular principle of affection, we have ſeen this country afford an aſylum to the Britons in every ſeaſon of adverſity.

Ann. Dom. 676.

Ann. Dom. 689.

AFTER reſiding ſometime in the court of Bretaigne, Cadwalader prepared to return into Wales; having heard that the famine and peſtilence had ceaſed, and that the Saxons, with increaſing power, were endeavouring to extend their conqueſts.[4] With this view, he collected an army compoſed of his own ſubjects and his allies the Bretons, with a ſuitable fleet to tranſport them acroſs the channel.[5]

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. 188. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

[2] Wynne Hiſt. Wales, p. 8.

[3] Baker's Chron. p. 4. J. Fordun's Hiſt. Scot. Gale's Scriptor. p. 647.

[4] Baker's Chron. p. 4. Welſh Chron. by Carodoc of Llancarvon, and republiſhed by Dr. Powel, p. 3. [5] Ibid.

In

In ſuch a ſituation, a magnanimous prince would either have reſcued his country from its danger, or would have buried himſelf in its ruins. But juſt at the time that Cadwalader was going to embark, he was warned in a viſion, which he fancied to be a ſudden impulſe from heaven, which directed him to lay aſide the cares of the world, and go immediately to Rome, to receive holy orders from the hands of the Pope. This illuſion, the effect of a weak or a diſtempered mind, he communicated to the king of Bretaigne; who, probably from intereſted motives, took advantage of this incident to act on the weakneſs of this prince, and on the credulity of his nation; which, in common with every other people in the ſame ſtage of refinement, always paid a high veneration to men, who, acting under the impulſe of a warm and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, fancied themſelves indued with the power of revealing future events.

Having conſulted the prophetic books of the two *Merlins*,[1] which were deemed ſacred as the pages of the Roman *Sybils*, Alan told him, they predicted the ruin of the Britiſh empire, until the time that the bones of king Cadwalader ſhould be brought back from Rome. He then adviſed him to act up to the patriotic deſign, and to follow

[1] There were two of that name, Silveſter and Ambroſe; the firſt was born in Scotland, and the latter, called Merdhin by the Britons, at Caerfrydhin in South Wales. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79.

the

the impulse of his vision. Thus confirmed in the delusion, Cadwalader proceeded to Rome; and agreeably to the interested views of the Roman pontiffs, was kindly received by Pope Sergius. After he had submitted to have his head shaven, and to be initiated into the order of white monks, Cadwalader lived eight years as a religious recluse;[1] exemplary in the piety of those days, but in a situation unworthy of a prince; as it secluded him from the practice of active virtue, and of consequence from promoting the interests of his people; for which great end alone princes are delegated to rule mankind.

The death of Cadwalader closed the imperial dignity which had been annexed for many ages to the British government.[2] The Welsh princes of later times usually resided at Diganwy[3] on the water of Conwy, and at Caer Segont[4] near Caernarvon.[5] Ann. Dom. 703.

Cadwalader having thus, in the weakness of superstition, abdicated his throne, and his son Edwal Ywrch,

[1] Winne Hist. Wales, p. 10, 11.

[2] Welsh Chr. p. 5. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

[3] Famous in Tacitus by the name of Cangorum (the people there being called Cangi) and called afterwards Gannock by the English. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

[4] Called by the Romans Segontium.

[5] Caer-n-ar-von; the city opposite Mona. Humfrey Lhuyd's, p. 65. Wynne Hist. Wales, p. 12.

yet

yet a minor, being under the protection of Alan, this latter prince appears to have thrown off the mask, and to have been desirous of realizing the prospects of ambition, which the late event had opened to his view. Under colour, no doubt, of acting for the common cause, he attached to his service those Welsh who had been the followers of the late prince; and with these troops and a body of his own subjects, under the command of his son Ivor, a descent was made on the western coast of Britain. Alarmed at this dangerous invasion, the Saxons opposed Ivor with their accustomed spirit and resolution.[1] But that prince, having defeated them with great slaughter, gained possession of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset.[2] To oppose this invasion, become formidable by the acquisition of these territories to Ivor, Kentwyn, king of the west Saxons, drew together a considerable force. Each of the princes, sensible of the importance of the contest, seemed unwilling to put it to the decision of arms: in the end, the arts of love and negotiation prevailed; and Ivor, satisfied with the conquests already made, agreed to marry Ethelburga, the cousin of the Saxon prince. By this marriage, by the death of Kentwyn, and Cedwell the nephew of that Saxon prince retiring to Rome, Ivor became sovereign of the western part of Britain, including the Saxon and British

[1] Welsh Chron. p. 7, 8.

[2] Welsh Chron. p. 8. By Carodoc of Llancarvan, translated by Dr. Powel, about 1584.

territories.

territories. At length, wearied with the cares of government, or ſinking into the ſuperſtition of the age, or, perhaps, ſtruck with remorſe for his paſt injuſtice, this prince withdrew from the cares of royalty, and buried himſelf in the receſſes of a cloiſter. As a more effectual atonement for the injuries done to the family of Cadwalader, he left to Roderic Moelwynoc, the grandſon of that prince, his Britiſh dominions.[1]

Roderic had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of his territories, than Adelred, who ſucceeded Ivor in the Saxon part of his dominions, invaded Devonſhire, and with fire and ſword carried deſolation through the country. He was proceeding with the like ravages into Cornwall, but was met upon its confines by the Britons, who defeated his forces and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions.[2]

Ann. Dom. 720.

Ann. Dom. 721.

At this time, the fertile and pleaſant lands which lie between the Severn and the Wy or Wye tempted Ethelbald to form the deſign of annexing them to his Mercian kingdom. With this view, he invaded that part of the country with a powerful army, and proceeded with the uſual devaſtations as far as Carno mountain near Abergavenny. On this mountain he was oppoſed by the Welſh, and a

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 15. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 15.

fierce and bloody battle enſued, which was not however decifive in favour of either party.[1]

Ann. Dom. 728.

Ann. Dom. 734.

At this time died the venerable Bede.[2]

Ethelbald having formed an alliance with Adelred, king of the Weſt Saxons, theſe princes marched their united forces into Wales. Though the danger was imminent, and their powers of reſiſtance comparatively ſmall, the Welſh, with great ſpirit, oppoſed the combined princes; and a well conteſted battle and miſerable ſlaughter on both ſides enſued, until the former were overpowered by ſuperiority of numbers. Diſpirited by this defeat, and taking advantage of a rupture which had ariſen between Cudred, who had ſucceeded to the throne of the Weſt Saxons, and Ethelbald; the Welſh entered into an alliance with the former prince. Elated however with his late victory, and regardleſs of this acceſſion to their power, Ethelbald attempted another invaſion of Wales and advanced as far as Hereford.[3] At that place, likewiſe, he met with a ſpirited reſiſtance from the Welſh; and by the aſſiſtance of their allies, they gave him a ſignal overthrow.[4] But a reconciliation taking place

Ann. Dom. 746.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 16. [2] Flores Hiſtor. Math. Weſtm. p. 203.

[3] Anciently called Henfford, or the old road of Engliſhmen. Humfrey Lhuyd's, p. 74.

[4] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 17.

between

between the Saxon princes, Cudred withdrew from the interests of the Welsh, and joined his forces with those of Ethelbald. The military prowess of their allies being thus taken from the Welsh, the scale was turned, and in another battle which soon after ensued with the Saxons, they were entirely discomfited.[1]

A DARK cloud at this period settled over the British hemisphere; and, the few governments which still remained amidst the ruins of time, except those of Wales, became extinguished one after the other. Eadbert, the king of Northumberland, an active and valiant prince, turned his arms against the Strath-Cluid Britons, and made himself master of Ar-Cluid the capital of their dominions.[2] The western part of Britain, likewise, which had been under the sovereignty of Roderic Moelwynoc, the son of Idwal Iwrch, was at this time conquered by the Saxons; and that prince forced to retire into North Wales; the government of which had been possessed by the two sons of Bletricus, the prince of Cornwall, ever since Cadvan had been elected to the sovereign dignity; and, however singular the incident may appear, Roderic seems to have been quietly permitted to enjoy his right as soon as he had announced his claim.[3]

Ann. Dom. 750.

Ann. Dom. 750.

[1] Henry Huntingdon, p. 340. Script. post Bædam. Math. Westm. p. 206. Brompton, p. 768.

[2] Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 287. Simon Dunelme, p. 105. Samme's Ant. of Britain, p. 546.

[3] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.

This prince ſoon after died, and left two ſons Cynan Tindaethwy and Howel:[1] he uſually reſided at Caer Segont on the ſtraits of the Menai in Carnarvonſhire.[2]

Amidst the continual wars which had ſo long harraſſed the Saxons and Welſh, neither of theſe people had much leiſure to attend to maritime affairs; and the naval power of Britain was of courſe inconſiderable; however the attention which was given to this neceſſary meaſure, was only to be found in the ports of Wales.[3]

Ann. Dom. 755. Cynan Tindaethwy, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed prince, ſucceeded to the throne of North Wales.[4] The late ſucceſs of the Saxons in the weſtern part of Britain encouraged them in the deſign of extending their dominions, and inſpired them with a confident expectation of being able to make an eaſy conqueſt of Wales. In the purſuit of this deſign they proceeded as far as Hereford; but on that frontier they were fiercely received by the Welſh; and the battle very probably ended in favour of the latter, hiſtory being ſilent as to the event and further progreſs of the invaſion.[5]

Ann. Dom. 763. At this time Offa reigned in Mercia.[6]

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 17, 18.
[2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.
[3] Berkeley Naval Hiſt. of Brit. p. 58.
[4] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188.
[5] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 18.
[6] Saxon Annal. p. 59.

The

The eafinefs of approach to the fertile plains of South Wales invited continual inroads; and confequently, that country was more harraffed, and fooner narrowed in its boundaries, than the mountainous territory of North Wales. At this period, the inhabitants of South Wales, fired with Ann. Dom. refentment at reiterated injuries, rofe up in arms, entered 776. Mercia with fire and fword, and retaliated on their enemies their ufual devaftations. In a little time after, they made other fuccefsful inroads, obliging the Saxons to retire beyond the Severn, and retu[illegible] home loaded with a confiderable quantity of c[illegible]. Animated by their late fuccefs, and allured by the profpect of fpoil, inftead of acting on the defenfive, which had hitherto been the utmoft exertion of the Welfh, a new plan of operation took place; a fpirit of enterprife enfued; and by fudden and frequent incurfions into Mercia, they revenged their national injuries, enriched themfelves, and filled the Saxon borders with continual alarm, and devaftation.[1]

These unufual and formidable exertions in the Welfh induced Offa to enter into a league with the other Saxon princes; that with their united ftrength they might at once deftroy, or give a check to this enterprifing fpirit.[2] In confequence of this alliance, a confiderable army paffed the Severn into Wales; but the Welfh, too weak to en-

[1] Welfh Chron. p. 19. [2] Ibid.

counter

counter ſo great a force, retreated into the mountains; and the Saxons likewiſe, unable to penetrate with advantage the natural fortifications of the country, returned into Mercia.[1] Offa, ſenſible of the evils produced by theſe inroads, and unable to prevent them, agreeably to the policy of his military anceſtors, planted a colony of Saxons in the country near the Severn and Wye;[2] whoſe immediate intereſt it became, to confine within the mountains the valour and reſtleſs activity of the Welſh. To mark the confines of each country [illegible] to give greater ſecurity to his own, he likewiſe cauſed a deep dyke and a high rampart to be made, which extended a hundred miles over rocks and mountains, and acroſs deep vallies and rivers, from the water of Dee to the mouth of the Wye.[3] This great work ſtill retains the ancient name of Clawdh Offa, or Offa's Dyke, and is an evidence of the ignorance and barbariſm of the age, having been raiſed with immenſe labour, but directed to no important uſe, either to mark the boundaries, or as a line of defence between hoſtile nations. The large towns and cities ſituated to the eaſt of the Severn and Dee, were probably built at this period, to check the irruptions of the Welſh by a ſtrong line of frontier poſts.[4]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 19. [2] Langhorni Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 292.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 19. Langhorni Chron. Ang. p. 292. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 51.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26.

The

The villages likewiſe on the eaſt ſide of Clawdh Offa, whoſe names terminate in *ton* or *ham* were about this time inhabited by Saxons,[1] who were uſually called Gwyr-y-mers, or the men of Mercia; though in after times the Welſh ſettled on each ſide of the Dyke.[2]

The change which this innovation had made in Powis, by narrowing its boundaries, and Shrewſbury having been lately taken by the Saxons, made it neceſſary to remove the royal reſidence of the princes of Powis, from that town to Mathraval in Montgomeryſhire;[3] ſituated five miles from the town of Poole.[4]

Though an interval of peace had given Offa the opportunity of finiſhing this celebrated Dyke, the Welſh were not inſenſible of the diſhonour and injury done to their country. But concealing their feelings under the maſk of indifference, they ſecretly concerted the plan of its deſtruction; and acting, by previous agreement, with the kings of Northumberland and of the South Saxons, with whom they were then in alliance, they ſuddenly beſet Clawdh Offa in the night of St. Stephen's day, the night

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 51. [2] Ibid. p. 50.

[3] Its ancient name was Pengwern, or the head of a place where alders grow, and was the ſeat of the kings of Powis; whence the Saxon term Schrewſbury is derived. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

itſelf

itſelf being extremely dark; and aſſiſted by the country people, broke down the rampart, and in a ſhort time filled up and levelled the Dyke to the length of a bow-ſhot. Then, early in the morning, they aſſailed king Offa,[1] and ſlew great numbers of his people; who, depending on the truce, were either aſleep or unarmed, or had given themſelves up to the pleaſures, or to the religious obſervance, of the feſtival.[2]

The Saxon prince inſtantly rallied his forces, and ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but his troops, all in confuſion and not properly armed, were intimidated, and could not ſuſtain the onſet of the Welſh; and it was not without great difficulty and ſlaughter, that they were able to bring off their leader, and recover their camp. After this diſaſter, Offa retired into his own dominions, meditating vengeance. The firſt impreſſion of his anger, on his return, for this inſulting violation of the truce, fell upon the hoſtages that were given by thoſe perſons who had lately broken the peace, whom he ordered to be more ſtrictly confined; and, ſtill unſatisfied with this ſeverity, their wives and families alſo were either ſold, or reſerved for perpetual ſlavery.[3]

[1] Suppoſed to be at Sutton Wallis near Hereford.

[2] Math. Paris Monachi Albanenſis Vitæ Duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum, p. 975, 976.

[3] Ibid. p. 976.

Some

Some time after, Offa, ſtill breathing revenge, marched into the confines of Wales, with a well equipped and formidable army; but for ſome years he was greatly annoyed by the Welſh, who, from their woods and mountains made continual irruptions upon his forces.[1] At length, both parties coming to a general engagement upon Rhydd-lan marſh; the Welſh, under the command of Caradoc, a chieftain or prince of the country, and deſcended from the houſe of Cornwall, were entirely defeated[2] with a dreadful ſlaughter; and their leader ſlain in the action.[3] Beſides this great loſs which the Welſh had ſuffered, the Saxon prince ordered all the men and children, who unfortunately fell into his hands to be maſſacred in cool blood; the women themſelves, ſcarcely eſcaping his fury.[4] Ann. Dom. 795.

The memory of this tragical event has been carried down to poſterity, by an ancient ballad called Morva Rhydd-lan, the notes of which are moſt tenderly plaintive.

Soon after this memorable event, died Offa, king of Mercia.[5] Some hiſtorians ſay he was ſlain in the battle of Rhydd-lan, with Meredith the prince of Dyved.[6]

[1] Math. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 20.

[3] According to tradition, the remaining Welſh who had eſcaped the enemies ſword, flying with precipitation over the marſh, periſhed in the water by the flowing of the tide.

[4] Math. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976. [5] Welſh Chron. p. 20.

[6] Cambden's Britannia, Gibſon's Notes on Flintſhire, p. 690, from Mſs. of Vaughan Hengwrt.

It may not be unneceſſary here, after a tedious recital of inroads and battles, to give ſome relief to the reader's mind, by opening to his view the modes of life and private manners of the Welſh, whoſe national character will appear in the courſe of the following pages.

The Welſh (according to Giraldus Cambrenſis,[1] who was himſelf a native of the country, and wrote in a period when their native manners were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourſe) were a nation light and nimble, and more fierce than ſtrong; from the loweſt to the higheſt of the people they were devoted to arms, which the plowman as well as the courtier was prepared to ſeize on the firſt ſummons. Their chief employment in works of huſbandry was, that for oats they opened the ſoil, once only in March and April; and for wheat or rye, they turned it up, twice in the ſummer, and a third time in winter about the ſeaſon of thraſhing.

The chief ſuſtenance of this people, in reſpect of their food, was cattle and oats, beſides milk, cheeſe, and butter; though they uſually ate more plentifully of fleſh meat than of bread.

As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic either by ſea or land, their time was entirely employed in

[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. cap. IV. V.

military

military affairs. They were ſo anxious for the preſervation of their country and its liberties, that they eſteemed it delightful not only to fight for them, but even to ſacrifice their lives: and agreeably to this ſpirit, they entertained an idea, that it was a diſgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field. Such was their eager courage, that although unarmed, they often dared to engage with men entirely covered with armour; and in ſuch engagements, by their activity and valour, they uſually came off conquerors. That their activity might not be impeded by any unneceſſary incumbrance, they made uſe of light armour; ſuch as ſmaller coats of mail, ſhields, and ſometimes of iron greaves; their offenſive weapons were arrows and long ſpears. Their bows were uſually made of ſlight twigs joined or twiſted together, and though rude in their form, they diſcharged an arrow with great force. The people of North Wales were remarkable for ſpears ſo long and well pointed, that they could pierce through an iron coat of mail; the men of South Wales were accounted the moſt expert archers. The chieftains when they went to war, were mounted on ſwift horſes, bred in the country; the lower ſorts of people, on account of the marſhes, as well as the inequalities of the ground, marched on foot to battle; though, whenever the occaſion or the place rendered it neceſſary for the purpoſes either of fighting or flying, the horſemen themſelves diſmounted and ſerved on foot.

The Welſh either went with their feet entirely bare, or they uſed boots of raw leather, inſtead of ſhoes, ſewed together with raw ſkin.

In the time of peace, the young men accuſtomed themſelves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops of mountains; and by continuing this exerciſe through the day and night, they prepared themſelves for the fatigues and employments of war.

These people were not given to exceſs either in eating or drinking. They had no ſet time appointed for their meals, nor any expenſive richneſs in their cloaths. Their whole attention was occupied in the ſplendid appearance of their horſes and arms, in the defence of their country, and in the care of their plunder. Accuſtomed to faſt from morning to night, their minds were wholly employed on buſineſs, they gave up the day entirely to prudent deliberations, and in the evening they partook of a ſober ſupper. But if, at any time, it happened, that they were not able to procure any, or only a very ſparing repaſt, they patiently waited till the next morning; and in this ſituation, prevented neither by hunger nor cold, they were eager to take advantage of dark and ſtormy nights for hoſtile invaſions.

There was not a beggar to be ſeen among theſe people, for the tables of all were common to all; and with them bounty,

bounty, and particularly hoſpitable entertainment, were in higher eſtimation than any of the other virtues. Hoſpitality, indeed, was ſo much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of ſuch civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requeſted by, travellers. As ſoon as they entered any houſe, they immediately delivered their arms into the cuſtody of ſome perſon; then if they ſuffered their feet to be waſhed by thoſe, who for that purpoſe directly offered them water, they were conſidered as lodgers for the night. The refuſal of this offered civility, intimated their deſire of a morning's refreſhment only. The offer of water for the purpoſe of waſhing the feet, was conſidered as an invitation to accept of hoſpitable entertainment. The young men uſually marched in parties, or in tribes, a leader being appointed to each; and as they were devoted to arms, or given up to leiſure, and were courageous in the defence of their country, they were permitted to enter the houſe of any perſon with the ſame ſecurity as their own. The ſtrangers, who arrived in the morning, were entertained until evening with the converſation of young women, and with the muſic of the harp; for in this country almoſt every houſe was provided with both. Hence we may reaſonably conclude, that the people were not much inclined to jealouſy. Such an influence had the powers of muſic on their minds, that in every family, or in every tribe, they eſteemed ſkill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning.

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In the evening, when the viſitors were all come, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the perſons, and the wealth of the houſe; on which occaſion the cook was not fatigued with dreſſing many diſhes, nor ſuch as were high ſeaſoned as ſtimulatives to gluttony; nor was the houſe ſet off with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all theſe things they ſtudied nature more than ſhew. The gueſts were placed by threes at ſupper, and the diſhes at the ſame time were put on ruſhes, in large and ample platters made of clean graſs, with thin and broad cakes of bread, baked every day. At the ſame time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities, were in waiting, the maſter and miſtreſs in particular were always ſtanding, very attentively overlooking the whole. At length, when the hour of ſleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwiſe along the ſides of the room; a few ruſhes being ſtrowed on the floor, and covered only with a coarſe hard cloth the produce of the country. The ſame garb that the people were uſed to wear in the day, ſerved them alſo in the night; and this conſiſted of a thin mantle, and a garment or ſhirt worn next to the ſkin. The fire was kept burning at their feet throughout the night, as well as in the day.

The women of this nation, as well as the men, had their hair cut round at the ears and eyes. The women alſo, as a head dreſs, wore a large white robe, folding round, and

and riſing by degrees into a graceful tuft or crown. Both the men and the women were exceedingly attentive to the preſervation of their teeth; by conſtantly rubbing them with green hazel (probably the leaves or bark) and cleaning them with a woollen cloth, they kept their teeth as white as ivory; and to preſerve them ſtill more, they abſtained from every kind of hot food. The men were accuſtomed to ſhave the whole beard, leaving only a whiſker on the upper lip; they likewiſe cut ſhort or ſhaved the hair of their heads, that it might be no impediment to their activity in paſſing through the thick woods and foreſts that covered their country.

The Welſh were a people of an acute and ſubtle genius; and to whatever ſtudies they applied their minds, enjoying ſo rich a vein of natural endowments, they excelled in wit and ingenuity any other of the weſtern nations. In civil cauſes and actions, they exerted all the powers of rhetoric, and, in the conduct of theſe, their talents for inſinuation, invention, and refutation were conſpicuous. In rhythmical ſongs, and in extempory effuſions, they excelled to a great degree, both in reſpect to invention and elegance of ſtyle; and for theſe purpoſes poets or bards were appointed. But beyond all other rhetorical ornaments they preferred the uſe of alliteration, and that kind more eſpecially which repeats the firſt letters or ſyllables of words. They made ſo much uſe of this ornament

ornament in every finiſhed diſcourſe, that they thought nothing elegantly ſpoken without it.

In private company, or in ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they were very facetious in their converſation, to entertain the company and diſplay their own wit. With this view, perſons of lively parts, ſometimes in mild and ſometimes in biting terms, under the cover of a double meaning, by a peculiar turn of voice, or by the tranſpoſition of words, were continually uttering humorous, or ſatirical expreſſions.

The loweſt of the people, as well as the nobles, were indebted to nature for a certain boldneſs in ſpeech, and an honeſt confidence in giving anſwers to great men on matters of buſineſs, or in the preſence of princes.

There were among the Welſh, what were not to be found among other nations, certain perſons whom they call *Awenydhion*, (a word expreſſive of poetical raptures) who appear to have been ſolely under the influence of the imagination. Theſe perſons, when they were conſulted about any thing doubtful, inflamed with a high degree of enthuſiaſm, were carried out of themſelves, and ſeemed as if they were poſſeſſed by an inviſible ſpirit. Yet they did not immediately declare a ſolution of the difficulty required, but by the power of wild and inconſiſtent circumlocution, in which they abounded,

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any perſon who diligently obſerved the anſwer would at length, by ſome turn or digreſſion in the ſpeech, receive an explanation of what he ſought. From this ſtate of extacy they were at laſt rouſed, as from a deep ſleep; and were compelled, as it were, by the violence of others to return to themſelves. Two things were peculiar to theſe perſons; that after the anſwer was given they did not come to themſelves unleſs recalled by force from this apparent ſpecies of madneſs, and when they recovered their reaſon they did not, it is ſaid, recollect any of thoſe things which in their extacy they had uttered. And if it happened that they were again conſulted about the ſame or any other thing, they would ſpeak it is true, but would expreſs themſelves in other and far different words. This property was beſtowed upon them, as they fancied, in their ſleep; at which time it appeared to ſome of them as if new milk or honey was poured into their mouths, to others as if a written ſcroll had been put into their mouths; and on their awaking, they publicly profeſſed that they have been endowed with theſe extraordinary gifts. This imaginary ſpirit of divination, has been in much uſe in the highlands of Scotland, and there known under the expreſſive term of Second Sight.

Pride of anceſtry and nobility of family were points held in the higheſt eſtimation among the Welſh, and of courſe they were far more deſirous of noble than of rich and ſplendid

marriages. So deeply rooted was this ſpirit, that even the very loweſt of the people carefully preſerved the genealogy of their families, and were able from memory readily to recite the names, not only of their immediate anceſtors, but even to the ſixth and ſeventh generation, and even to trace them ſtill farther back; in this manner, Rhys ap Gryffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tewdur, ap Enion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadwal, ap Roderic the Great.

A WELSHMAN was conſidered as honourable, if among his anceſtors there had been neither ſlave, nor foreigner, nor infamous perſon.[1] Yet if any foreigner had ſaved the life of a Welſhman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalized, and was entitled to the rights of Welſhmen. And any foreign family, having reſided in Wales for four generations, were alſo admitted to the ſame privileges.[2]

THE love which they felt for family connections was eager and warm; and of conſequence they were keen in their reſentments, and revenged deeply any injury committed on their family either of blood or diſhonour. They were vindictive and bloody in their anger; and exceedingly prompt to revenge not only recent injuries, but even thoſe which were paſt, and committed in a remote period. What ſpread ſtill farther this ſpirit of revenge, was a cuſtom prevalent among this people, of ſending their

[1] Hoel's Dah's Laws. [2] Ibid.

children

children to be fostered or nursed in other families; who, in consequence, regarded themselves as interested to promote the welfare of, or revenge any injuries done to, such fostered children. This custom, it is probable, principally prevailed in the families of princes and chieftains.[1]

The Welsh did not usually reside in cities, villages, or camps, but led a solitary life in the woods.

On the borders of their forests, it was usual, not to raise great palaces, nor sumptuous houses built with stone, but only to twist together ozier coverings, suited to the different seasons of the year, with as little labour as expence. But these dwellings must surely have been confined to the lower orders of the people. They used neither orchards nor gardens, yet they freely ate of the fruits of either, when brought to them from other places. Their fields were mostly in pasture, little cultivated, seldom plowed, and scarcely ever sown or planted. Yet the Welsh, sensible of the great utility of agriculture, instituted a kind of plowing society, which consisted of persons who contributed oxen and implements of husbandry, for the purpose of tilling a stipulated quantity of ground. To this useful design, great encouragement was given by the Welsh laws.[2] To their ploughs and carts they sometimes joined

[1] Hist. of Qwedir Family. [2] Hoel Dhas Laws.

two oxen, but more frequently made uſe of four; the driver going before, and, what is very ſingular, uſually walking backwards; and on that account, if the oxen were not properly trained to the yoke, he was expoſed to great danger. They made very little uſe of the ſcythe or ſickle either to mow or reap; but employed a more expeditious inſtrument, a middle ſized iron in the ſhape of a pruning knife, chained looſely at each end to two ſtaves.

THEY uſed likewiſe ſmall boats[1] made of ozier for the purpoſes of fiſhing, or of paſſing rivers. Theſe were not of an oblong form, had not any beaks, but were made nearly round, or rather of a triangular ſhape; and were covered both in the inſide and on the outſide with raw ſkins. But ſuch was the form of the boat, that when a ſalmon was caught, the waterman was in danger of being overſet, whenever it ſtruck the boat. The boats were ſo light, that the fiſhermen uſually carried them on their ſhoulders.

THE Welſh were firſt inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by Faganus and Damianus, who were ſent by Eleutherius, the biſhop of Rome, at the requeſt of king Lucius. From this period, to the time when St. Germain was ſent into Britain on account of the Pelagian doctrine, no heretical opi-

[1] Theſe kind of boats are ſtill uſed in Wales, and are called curricles.

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nions were found in Wales. Agreeably to the doctrines received from that missionary, as it is said, they gave to the poor a part of the bread which was served up at the altar; they sat down to table by threes in honour of the Trinity; a monk, or clerk, or any other person, on his taking the religious habit, immediately begged a blessing, with his arms stretched out, and his head hanging down. The whole people were more eager to obtain episcopal confirmation, and the chrism, by which the spirit was given, than any other nation. They gave the tenth of all that they possessed of animals, sheep, and sometimes of cattle, in the following cases; whenever they engaged in a military marriage; when they first set out on a pilgrimage; or, by the remonstrance of the church, whenever they made any amendment in their lives. This division of their property they called the Great Tithe; two parts of which they bestowed on their own baptismal church, and a third was given to the bishop of the diocese. The pilgrimage which above all others was deemed most sacred by the Welsh, was a journey to Rome, where, with devout minds, and with much reverence, they adored the thresholds of the apostles. They paid also great reverence to churches, and to the clergy; to the relics of saints, their portable bells, text books, and to the cross. [1]

From

[1] As a proof of the religious spirit which about this time prevailed, three thousand Welsh, the most expert in archery and the use of the pike, engaged to

From this ſpirit of ſuperſtitious piety, very peculiar privileges of ſanctuary have been given to the Welſh churches. Not only in cœmetries or burial places, but within the precincts of certain bounds appointed by the biſhop, all animals had the liberty of feeding in perfect ſecurity. The larger churches, endowed with greater privileges on account of their antiquity, extended their bounds of ſanctuary ſtill farther, as far as the cattle could go in the morning and return at night. So ſacred were the privileges of ſanctuary, that if any perſon, at mortal enmity with his prince, ſought the refuge of the church; his own perſon, his family, and all his property remained in the moſt perfect ſecurity. If any attempt was made to violate the ſanctuary, the parties under its protection, marched out with great boldneſs, and not only moleſted the prince himſelf, but grievouſly infeſted the country.[1]

It was neceſſary on the acceſſion of the king, that the proprietors of eccleſiaſtical lands ſhould come before him,

to go into the Holy Land, at the inſtance of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrenſis, preached the Croiſades in the year 1188 throughout Wales. Giraldus Camb. Itinerarii Camb. cap. XIII. p. 226.

[1] Thus far from Giraldus Cambrenſis, (Cambriæ Deſcriptio, from p. 254 to 275) a learned monk, who lived in the reign of Henry the ſecond, and was a native of South Wales. In this detail of manners, the author has given nothing more than a ſimple tranſcript of Giraldus, with ſcarcely any variations of his own; under the idea that ſuch delineations, ſtruck off by the pencil of a contemporary, would appear more pleaſing in their original colours, and native ſimplicity.

to lay open their rights and privileges; to whom, if their claims were juſt, he confirmed thoſe privileges, and the rights of ſanctuary.[1] If any offender fled to ſanctuary, and an action was inſtituted againſt him there, neither the abbot nor monks could protect him, until he had made ſatisfaction for his offence; if no ſuch action was brought, they were then to conduct him to the place where he was to remain.[2] If any perſon, taking refuge in a ſanctuary, committed any criminal act, he loſt the privileges of that aſylum, and was obliged to fly into another ſanctuary, or to forfeit all his property to the religious place whoſe protection he had violated. If any perſon, carrying about him the relics of ſaints, committed a crime under their protection, he was not entitled to any privileges on their account; and in ſuch caſe, likewiſe, he forfeited all his goods to that aſylum, unleſs he had already procured another.[3] Any perſon who had taken ſanctuary, might freely go about the cœmetry and the court of the church, without carrying relics; and his cattle might feed with thoſe of the monaſtry, and remain in ſecurity as far as the herds of the monaſtry were allowed to go. Diſputes concerning the property of lands, when both parties were eccleſiaſtics, were not cogniſable by the Welſh laws.[4]

If the king granted a licence to build a church in any village whoſe inhabitants were villains, to which a cœmetry

[1] Howel Dhas Laws. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

was

was aſſigned, and prieſts were appointed to celebrate maſs, the village from that time became free.[1] The hermits and other aſcetics in this country, were in a peculiar degree auſtere in the habits of mortification, and in their piety more ſpiritualiſed than the Religious in any other nation. As it was the diſpoſition of this people to purſue every object with vehemence, none were elſewhere to be found ſo bad as the worſt, nor any better than the good among the Welſh.[2]

It was natural that a warlike people would employ their leiſure, during the ſhort intervals of peace, in the habits of domeſtic feſtivity, or in the pleaſures of the field. A variety of exerciſes, ſome more violent, others more gentle in their nature, were in common uſe among the Welſh. Of theſe, many which were the more peculiar diverſions of men, were feats of ſtrength; namely pitching a bar of iron, throwing a ſledge, a large ſtone or quoits, running, leaping, ſwimming, wreſtling, riding, archery and throwing the javelin; fencing with ſword and buckler, the two handed ſword, and playing with the quarter ſtaff. There were ſeveral other diverſions conſidered as rural ſports, and as leſs manly; ſuch as hunting, fiſhing, and bird hunting; beſides which ſundry others were uſed in families as private amuſements, and conſidered as literary; ſuch as poetry, playing on the harp, reading Welſh, ſinging

[1] Howel Dha. [2] Giraldus Cambrenſis, p. 275.

poems

poems with ſtringed inſtruments; ſinging an ode of four parts and accenting it with proper expreſſion; heraldry, and embaſſy. Other amuſements were in uſe of a more ſedate kind, which employed their more tranquil hours; cheſs, draughts and back-gammon, or ſome ſimilar game; dice, and tuning the harp. Beſides theſe, there were various modes of hunting, diſtinguiſhed in the following manner. Hunting the ſtag, purſuing a ſwarm of bees, and taking ſalmon; theſe three were deemed common diverſions. Hunting the bear, the ſquirrel or martin, and the cock of the wood,[1] were called barking diverſions. Hunting the fox, the hare, and the roebuck,[2] were diſtinguiſhed as clamorous ones. The ſtag was hunted with hounds and greyhounds; and this was called a common diverſion, becauſe every perſon who was at his death had a right to a ſhare. Even if a man on his journey happened to paſs by at the time the ſtag was killed, he was entitled by the game laws to a ſhare in common with thoſe who had hunted him down. A ſwarm of bees was likewiſe a common property; for whoever found them on his own, or on other people's lands, unleſs the finder ſhould have put a mark that he firſt found them, every one who paſſed by had a right to enjoy a ſhare; but a fourth part went to the owner of the ground. Salmon

[1] See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun.

[2] Iwrch or roebuck, ſaid to have been formerly in Wales. See Richard's Welſh Dictionary on that word; and Gibſon's notes on Cambden, p. 645.

were alſo conſidered in the ſame light, for when they were caught with a net, or ſtruck with a ſpear, or taken in any other way, whoever ſhould come to the place, before a diviſion was made, was entitled to a part, provided the ſalmon was taken out of a common water.

Hunting the bear was called a barking diverſion, becauſe from its ſlowneſs the hunting of it muſt be very little, and it was only baited, barked at, and then killed. The martin,[1] fitchet, polecat,[2] and ſquirrel, not being able to run far, climbed up into trees, and in that ſituation were barked at and baited by dogs. Hunting the cock of the wood[3] was the ſame; for when the dogs purſued this bird, they hunted him till he flew into a tree, and there he was barked at and baited.

Fox hunting was called a clamorous diverſion, as in the purſuit of this animal there was much crying of the dogs, and blowing of the horn. Of the ſame nature were the diverſions of roebuck and hare hunting.

The game that was moſt eſteemed for eating was the ſtag, the hare, the wild boar, and the bear. If greyhounds were let looſe after a ſtag or ſome other animal, and the dogs purſued him out of ſight, and he was afterwards killed,

[1] Bele. [2] Câthgoed. [3] See Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdun.

then

then the foremoſt greyhound in the laſt view was entitled to the ſkin. If a man, or a dog, ſtarted a hare out of her ſeat and killed her, ſhe was the property of either the one or the other.

It was neceſſary that every perſon who carried a horn ſhould be acquainted with the nine game laws. If he could not give an account of them he forfeited his horn. Whoever went a hunting with couples, forfeited thoſe likewiſe, if he could not properly give an explanation of them, but, whimſically enough, the couples were ſafe, if placed on his arm. No perſon could let looſe a greyhound after any animal, which the hounds were hunting, unleſs he himſelf had hounds that were hunting at the ſame time; and on any perſon ſo offending, the man who was purſuing the hare, might hamſtring the greyhound. No one was allowed to ſhoot a beaſt that was appropriated for the chace, when at reſt, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrows to the lord of the manor: though he might ſhoot at and kill any ſuch, if he could, when the dogs were in full cry; but he was not allowed to ſhoot among the dogs. If any perſon went out to hunt, and let his dogs looſe after the beaſt, and it ſo happened that he was met with and killed by ſome ſtraggling dogs, the animal was then the property of the firſt dogs, unleſs the ſtraggling ones belonged to the king. The beaſt that was hunted, was the property of the firſt hunter, unleſs his face was turned towards home, and

his back on the dogs. If his dogs were ſtill hunting, and the hunter had left them, the animal did not in that caſe belong to him, if killed by ſtraggling dogs, but to the owner of the latter.[1]

Some light may be thrown on the ancient adminiſtration of Wales, by laying open the various conditions, on which the Welſh held their eſtates under their princes or immediate lords, and by ſhewing in what manner the advantage ariſing from thoſe tenures were directed to the ſupport and ſafety of their government.

We ſhall begin, by marking the ſeveral ſmaller diviſions, which at that time, it is probable, had taken place in the country. In the leſſer diviſions, Wales might have been originally divided into *Bôds*, *Trevs*, and *Caers*. The *Bôd* is ſuppoſed to have been the manſion houſe of a chieftain on his firſt ſettlement in the country; the lands which he aſſigned for the maintenance of his dependents in the increaſing colony to have been called a *Trev*; and the incloſure of ſuch lands, for defence or convenience, whether formed of wood or ſtone, might have been denominated a *Caer*.[2] An aſſemblage of ſeveral *bôds* formed a *trev* or

[1] See an account of the Welſh games, printed at the end of Dr. Davies's Dictionary. He died in the year 1644; he was himſelf a native of Wales, and was much eſteemed by his countrymen, for his knowledge of its language and antiquities.

[2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 28, 29, 31.

townſhip

townſhip; a hundred of theſe *trevs* conſtituted a *cantrev*. For the more eaſy and regular diſpatch of buſineſs, a *cantrev* was divided into two or more *commots*; each of which conſiſting of a certain number of *bôds* and *trevs*, formed a diſtinct precinct, and was conſidered as a lordſhip, poſſeſſing a ſeparate court and juriſdiction.[1]

The Welſh princes, and other lords of particular territories, were the proprietors *in capite* of all lands, and were ſovereign lords of all their ſubjects and bondmen. To theſe, the princes or the lords diſtributed townſhips, or particular tenures called Weles ſeats or dwellings, by way of martial diſtribution, on ſuch conditions as thoſe lords and princes thought proper to impoſe. The lands or tenures ſo granted, were either freeholds or villanage; and the perſons to whom they were given were called freeholders or vaſſals; each were equally tenants to their lord, though in reſpect of privileges originally granted, they were in poſſeſſion of different degrees of freedom or vaſſalage. Some of theſe were entirely free, and others were entirely bond; ſome townſhips in part were free, and in part were bond. In theſe ſeveral townſhips, a greater or leſs degree of freedom prevailed, or none at all; the tenants of the firſt kind of vaſſalage were called *nativi liberi*, that is, free natives, or the better ſort of vaſſals; and the others were conſidered as *puri nativi*, or perfect ſlaves.

[1] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 116.

Those

THOSE lands or townſhips which were entirely free, gave to the poſſeſſors a rank above other tenants; qualified them for offices and employments, and entitled them likewiſe to a ſeat and a voice in courts of judicature. From this privilege of ſitting higher than the other tenants in their *Gorſeddau,* and of aſſiſting in giving ſentence, and paſſing judicial decrees, the tenants of theſe freeholds were called *Uchelwyr.* The king excepted, there was an equality among all the Welſh nobility.[1]

THE tenants of bond lands, and villages, being inferior to freeholders, were bound to ſervile employments, and in many things were at the diſpoſal of their princes or lords. A lord had the privilege of parting with his vaſſal either by ſale or donation. There was, however, a diſtinction in point of privilege between ſuch tenants. The free natives were thoſe who poſſeſſed ſome degree of freedom, who might go where they pleaſed, might buy and ſell, and enjoyed many other immunities. The pure natives were conſidered as the entire property of their princes or lords, were ſold along with the eſtate, and confined within its limits; out of which, if they happened to wander, they were liable to be driven back like brutes with great ſeverity.[2] The profeſſion of any of the mechanic or liberal arts made a vaſſal free; but no vaſſal could acquire them without the permiſſion of his lord.[3]

[1] Howel Dha's Laws. [2] Rowland Mona, p. 120, 121.
[3] Hoel Dah's Laws.

THE

The trevs were not all of equal dimenſion; ſome were of a larger and others of a leſſer extent; but they were all ſubject to certain conditions to be paid to their lords, were rated and fixed at the firſt diſpoſal of thoſe tenures. Theſe were rents, ſervices, duties, mulcts, and attendances. Theſe were the great ſources of revenue and of power; from which the Welſh princes were enabled to ſupport their dignity, to ſecure the loyalty of their ſubjects, and afford protection to the ſtate.[1]

The rents of ſome tenures were paid in money, thoſe of others were paid in goods and in cattle. Rents in money were fixed to be paid, either at the four quarterly payments, or the two half yearly ones; or they aroſe out of caſualties, ſuch as reliefs and heriots. The rents which were paid in goods and cattle, were either a certain quantity of corn, paid at certain times of the year, or a certain number of oxen and cows, which many trevs were obliged to pay at the end of the year. The Tunc Rent, was a ſum of money payable by four villain townſhips in every commot, of five ſhillings a year ceſſable on particular Trevs. Rents of ſome kind or other were fixed originally to be ceſſable on all tenures whether free or bond, ſimilar to the Engliſh ſoccage tenures.

[1] Rowland Mona, p. 121.

The

The freeholder had a legal right in the property of his lands, on the performance of the ſtipulated conditions; but that right might be forfeited, in certain caſes, to the prince or lord of the fee.

The villains or vaſſals, who were the tenants of the villanages, had no property in the lands aſſigned them; but enjoyed only the occupancy and poſſeſſion of them during the pleaſure of the prince or lord; they being conſidered only as ſlaves, to be placed in any ſituation at the will of their maſters. They paid however a rent to their lord; and thoſe rents which were charged on villain tenures were preciſe and ſtated, and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on fixed and certain days.[1]

The nature of thoſe ſervices, which the ſeveral trevs, or the particular tenures in every manor, were obliged to perform, is here attempted to be explained. In general, the prince had a *Llys* or palace in every cantrev; a chapel likewiſe, with the neceſſary appendages of mills, offices, and other conveniences. In ſupport of theſe, the ſervices of tenants in the cantrev where the palace was built, were appropriated in various ways; and the lands belonging to the palace were parcelled out to tenants, on the conditions of performing ſuch private and domeſtic ſervices. Thoſe

[1] Rowland Mona, p. 122, 123.

tenants

tenants were called in many places *Gwyr Mael, Gwyr tîr y Porth*, and *Gwyr Gwaith*. The ſervice under the title of *Gwyr Mael*, is ſuppoſed to have been the prince's local guard, who were obliged to arm themſelves, and to keep watch and ward about the palace. The ſervice bearing the name of *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, was to cultivate the corn lands, reſerved by the prince in every manor for his corn proviſion. The duty implied by *Gwyr Gwaith*, was an obligation on particular tenants of working for the prince at their own charge. The remaining tenants were obliged to repair the walls of the palace, or the hall, the chapel, or other appendages of the prince's houſe. In every cantrev, there were ſome tenants bound by their tenures to carry ſtones, or corn; to repair the roof of a mill, the walls, and the water-courſe; to carry large ſtones and pieces of timber for the uſes of the mill. Some tenants, alſo, by their tenures, were obliged to repair weirs, to carry wattles and bruſh wood, to hedge about warrens, and ſome to attend the offices of the larder and kitchen.[1]

The duties, which were due from other tenants, whether free or bond, to the prince or the lord, were various, and both of a civil and military nature. They were obliged to appear in the court of the prince, whenever they received a ſummons; which without great peril they could not diſ-

[1] Rowland, p. 124, 125.

obey. They were under obligation to appear in the court of the cantrev in which they refided. Their appearance was equally neceffary in the county court.[1] This was their great court of common pleas, and of high authority: its jurifdiction extended over the whole diftrict. They were obliged to grind their corn at a particular mill, and to pay as a grift-toll the thirtieth part; which appears to have been very confiderable, when it is confidered that the repairs of the mill lay entirely upon the tenants. Thofe who were not concerned in thefe repairs, were yet obliged to make and to clear the water courfes belonging to it; befides the different kinds of carriage that were impofed on them, efpecially the conveyance of the prince's own corn.

The tenants in common were obliged to array, and to follow the prince to war whenever fummoned for that purpofe. This was a general obligation, equally impofed on the nobility and on the people at large. The fame duties were likewife due from the tenants of inferior diftricts to their refpective and immediate lords. This obligation of attending their prince or lord in war was not equal upon all; fome tenants were only to go for a limited time, and to a limited place; while others were obliged to give their attendance during the war, without any limitation, equipped and maintained at their own expence. This duty,

[1] So Rowland calls it.

fo

ſo indefinite and peremptory, was called *Gwaith Milwyr*; and no doubt was a kind of knight's ſervice.[1]

There were five other duties, of a civil nature, incident to particular tenures. The nature of thoſe duties are not certainly known at this diſtance of time; but they may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The courts of the Welſh princes being ambulatory, removing from manor to manor, and not fixed to any certain place; their houſes likewiſe being inſufficient to hold the numerous retinue which uſually attended the prince; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that a ſuitable proviſion was every where made for their reception and maintenance. The tenants of that manor, in which the prince came to reſide for a certain time, were obliged of courſe to receive, and to ſupport ſo many of the prince's officers and ſervants, as each of them was under the obligation of doing, agreeably to the conditions ſtipulated in their reſpective tenures. Such, it is probable, was the duty called *Cylch Stalon*, of entertaining the prince's grooms, and finding proviſion for ſo many of his horſes, for ſuch a time, and by ſuch tenants of the manor, as were ſpecified in the tenures of each. So, likewiſe, *Cylch Rhaglon*, was entertaining the prince's ſteward, by ſuch and ſo many of the tenants as were obliged, each in his turn to receive that officer. *Cylch Hebogyddion*, was the obligation

[1] Rowland Mon. p. 126.

of entertaining and providing for the princes faulkners and his hawks. *Cylch Greorion*, as it was called, was the providing for and entertaining by turns, every tenant for a limited time, the keepers of the princes live ſtock and cattle; ſuch, it is probable, as were deſigned for ſlaughter, for the uſe of the royal houſehold, while the prince reſided in their manor. This duty was afterwards commuted for, by the payment of a certain ſum of money, called *Arian Greorion*. The laſt duty ſtiled *Cylch Dowrgon*, was the obligation on certain tenants, by turns, to receive, and provide for the huntſman and his dogs, during the prince's reſidence, or when he came for the purpoſe of hunting in any *trev* or manor. It is probable, that when the prince did not make his progreſs, at the uſual times, among his tenants, they paid him, in lieu of ſuch duties, a ſum of money, which was called *Arian Qweſtva*.[1]

Three ſpecies of mulcts were another ſource of revenue ariſing to the prince, and incident to particular tenures. *Am-wobr* was a mulct of five or ten ſhillings, payable by particular trevs and gavels, for the incontinency of women.[2] It was alſo a fine anciently paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter.[3]

[1] Rowland Mon. p. 128, 129. Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *qweſtva*.
[2] Rowland, p. 129. [3] Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *am-wobr*.

Obediw,

Obediw, was a ſum of money rated on ſeveral trevs, and payable to the prince or chief lord, as a mortuary for the death of a tenant. This was ſometimes called *Obediw Dietifedd*, when a ſum of money was payable to the prince or lord, for a tenant dying without iſſue. *Gober*, was a mulct of ten ſhillings, paid to the prince or lord on the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter. This is ſaid to be a commutation in lieu of that barbarous cuſtom, that was in uſe in the times of Paganiſm, of the right which the lord had of deflouring a virgin on the firſt night of her marriage with a vaſſal.[1]

As the lower ſorts of people were liable to perform certain ſervices to their prince or lord, ſo the nobility were bound by the expreſs conditions of their reſpective fees, to pay attendance to their ſovereign prince. This attendance was different, according to the ſeveral occaſions of the prince in peace or in war. Theſe lords had likewiſe under them, freehold and vaſſal tenants, over whom they themſelves were lords in fee. Depending on thoſe conditions, the nobility had offices and truſts both civil and military conferred upon them, as well as titles that were miniſterial and honorary.[2] The family of Hwſa ap Kynddelw of Preſaddfed in Angleſey held their eſtates in fee, on the condition of attending the prince's coronation, and of bear-

[1] Rowland, p. 130. [2] Ibid.

ing up the right ſide of the canopy over his head. The biſhop of Bangor, likewiſe, enjoyed ſome advantage, by his peculiar office of crowning the prince and of being his principal chaplain. In the ſame manner, moſt of the nobility were bound to particular attendances by the expreſs conditions of their land tenures; beſides thoſe duties which they in general were obliged to perform as ſubjects by homage and fealty. When properly ſummoned, if the nobility neglected to perform theſe conditions, their eſtates were liable to forfeiture, and their perſons to be baniſhed the realm. This mode of puniſhment, by baniſhing the offender, was moſt commonly uſed by the Welſh princes.[1]

There were many tenures in Wales,[2] which were held of neither prince nor lord, but under certain ſaints or patrons of churches; the tenants of which lands called themſelves abbots. As moſt of theſe ſaints had the privileges of ſanctuary originally eſtabliſhed in them, it is probable, that one condition of thoſe tenures was, to maintain and ſupport theſe places of refuge, and the perſons protected in them; and likewiſe to ſee that their privileges, with

[1] Rowland Mon. p. 131.

[2] Theſe notices of the ſeveral diviſions of the country are taken from the reports given in upon oath by thoſe men, who were appointed by Edward the firſt for aſcertaining the princes rights, and the tenures in Wales.

other

other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preſerved and kept inviolate.[1]

The princes of Wales uſually wore on their bonnets or helmets a coronet of gold; being a broad lace or headband indented upwards, and ſet with precious ſtones.[2]

From the few traits which are here given of the private manners and cuſtoms of the Welſh, we may form a lively idea of their genius, and, in ſome meaſure, may diſcriminate what was peculiar in their national character. Hence, too, we are enabled to account for a variety of ſplendid actions which ſtrike our wonder, and intereſt our feelings for the fate of a brave people, who were ſo often thrown into ſituations, ſudden and rapid in their changes, and which appear to be ſingular in the hiſtory of nations.

THERE was ſomething in the Saxon character, ſo little ſuſceptible of thoſe impreſſions which humanize and poliſh the rudeſt natures, that even at the period of which we are now treating, they retained their native barbariſm. And

[1] Rowland Mon. p. 132.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 36. The illegitimate children of the princes of Wales were not allowed to bear their father's arms, and if permitted, yet not without carrying on them ſome marks of peculiarity. Britiſh Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 31.

as

as the Welsh, confined in narrow limits, were scarcely considered as objects of fear, the Saxon princes turned their arms against each other;[1] giving their enemies the vindictive consolation of seeing the miseries of war retaliated on themselves. These calamities were likewise increased by the Danes, who now, for the first time, infested the coasts of Britain;[2] and the Welsh, no doubt, would have seen with pleasure the effects of a storm, just breaking on the heads of their enemies, if they had not themselves been equally liable to the danger. But as a means of security, warned by the fatal remissness of the Saxons, they with great secrecy and diligence increased their naval force; reasonably expecting by such a force to repel the Danish invasions, or, it is probable, in case of necessity they might hope to secure a retreat.[3]

About this time the city of St. David was laid in ashes by the Saxons, and that event was preceded by an eclipse of the sun and moon; a terrible distemper likewise seised upon cattle;[4] and the next year the city of Diganwy was destroyed by lightning:[5] these incidents arising from natural causes, were marked by superstition as presages of national calamity. From this time,[6] Diganwy ceased to be the residence of the princes of North Wales.

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.

[2] Verstegan, chap. VI. p. 155. Welsh Chron. p. 20. Saxon Chron. p. 64.

[3] Berkeley's Naval Hist. Brit. p. 61.

[4] Welsh Chron. p. 21. [5] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66.

[6] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 67.

In right of that equal diſtribution of property which took place in Wales by the cuſtom of gavel kind, Howel the younger ſon of the late prince Roderic Moelwynoc laid claim to the iſland of Mona as part of his father's inheritance. This claim was diſputed by Cynan Tindaethwy his elder brother, and each ſide prepared to put it to the deciſion of arms; but a victory, ſoon after gained by prince Howel, gave him the poſſeſſion of the iſland. The two princes, the one eager to maintain his patrimony, and the other to regain the territory torn from him, oppoſed each other a ſecond time; but with the ſame event, the battle ending in favour of Howel.[1] Enraged at theſe defeats, Cynan was determined, by a vigorous effort, at every hazard of his crown and his life, to recover the iſland and the reputation of his arms. In purſuance of this reſolution he raiſed an army and marched againſt his brother; but Howel, ſeeing himſelf unable to oppoſe ſo great a force, withdrew from the conflict, and eſcaped to the Iſle of Man; leaving Mona in the poſſeſſion of the conqueror.[2] Ann. Dom. 817.

Cynan Tindaethwy did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, for he died ſoon after, and left the principality of North Wales to Eſylht his daughter, married to Merfyn

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 21, 22. [2] Ibid. p. 22.

Frych, the king of Man, and a defcendent, by the maternal line, from the houfe of Powis.[1]

On the death of the late prince, Merfyn and Efylht, fucceeded to the fovereignty of North Wales;[2] annexing to the dignity the Ifle of Man.[3]

In the early part of their reign,[4] Egbert king of the Weft Saxons invaded Wales with a powerful army, defolated
Ann. Dom. 819. the country as far as Snowden mountains,[5] and feifed on the lordfhip of Rhyvonioc in Denbigh-land.[6] He then advanced to Mona, and took poffeffion of that ifland, having fought a bloody battle with the Welfh at Llanvaes near Beaumaris;[7] and though the ifland was foon recovered by prince Merfyn, and the Saxons were driven out, it loft at this period the ancient name of Mona, and was afterwards by the Englifh called Anglefey, or the Englifhmen's Ifle.[8] This formidable inroad was no fooner over, as if the Welfh were to enjoy no interval of peace, than Kenulph, king of

[1] Welfh Chron. p. 22.

[2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. [3] Ibid. p. 173.

[4] Math. Weftm. p. 224, 227, recites three different invafions of Egbert upon Wales, in which he fubdued that country, and made its kings tributary, Ann. Dom. 810, 811, 830.

[5] Yryri in the Welfh, fignifying mountains of fnow. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65.

[6] Welfh Chron. p. 24, 25. [7] Ibid.

[8] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172, 173.

Mercia.

Mercia, in two succeſſive inroads, over-ran, with great devaſtation, Weſt Wales and Powis.[1]

At this period, the policy and valour of Egbert had united the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom;[2] and ſuch an union, under a vigorous adminiſtration, might have proved fatal to the Welſh, if the attention of the Saxon prince had not been diverted from foreign conqueſts to the ſecurity of his own territories. To conſolidate more cloſely the various parts of his dominions, he gave to the whole of his new kingdom the common name of England;[3] and at this juncture, every ſpecies of union was neceſſary to oppoſe the formidable and increaſing invaſions of the Danes. Ann. Dom. 833. A large body of theſe people landed about this time in Weſt Wales;[4] and ſuch was the animoſity of the Welſh, and the wretched alternative left them, that they united in a common intereſt, as the leaſt and more diſtant evil, to wreak their vengeance upon the Saxons, and to eſtabliſh the Daniſh power on the ruin of more immediate and hereditary enemies.

In conſequence of this alliance, the Welſh joined their forces with the Danes; and after having ravaged his king-

[1] Chron. of Wales, p. 25.
[2] Fabian, p. 184. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.
[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 125.
[4] Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Chron of Wales, p. 27.

 dom,

dom, and deſtroyed many of his caſtles and fortified towns, they fought a ſevere battle with Egbert upon Hengiſt Down; but in this action, they ſuſtained a terrible defeat,
Ann. Dom. 835. with the ſlaughter of a great part of their army.[1] Immediately after the victory, incenſed at this invaſion, and alarmed at the conſequence of ſuch alliances in future, Egbert made war upon the Welſh and inveſted Cheſter; determined they ſhould feel the utmoſt effects of his reſentment and power. This city had hitherto remained in the poſſeſſion of the Welſh,[2] and was regarded as an important poſt upon the frontier. It was taken at this time by Egbert.[3] Among other marks of his indignation againſt the Britons, he cauſed the brazen ſtatue of Cadwallon to be taken down and defaced;[4] he likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, that all the men, with their wives and children, who were deſcended from Britiſh blood, ſhould depart his territories in ſix months, on pain of death;[5] and to add injury to inſult, he made another law, as ſavage as it was unavailing; which affixed the penalty of death to every Welſhman, who paſſed the limits of Offa's Dyke and ſhould be taken on the Engliſh borders.[6] More coercive reſtraints were neceſſary than ſuch a feeble barrier and futile law,

[1] Saxon Chron. p. 72. Math. Weſtm. p. 227. [2] Chron. of Wales, p. 27.
[3] Grafron's Chron. p. 132. Fabian, p. 184.
[4] Stowe's Chron. p. 77. [5] Chron. Wales, p. 27, from Ranulph Ceſtr.
[6] Speed's Chron. p. 318, from Joa. Beverlenſis.

though

though the hand of power had drawn an arbitrary line, which insulted the feelings, and entrenched on the rights of a warlike and irascible people.

This prince died soon after the siege of Chester; and his death might probably suspend for several ages the destiny of Wales.

A short cessation of the Danish inroads gave leisure to Berthred, the king of Mercia, to renew hostilities against the Welsh;[1] and a severe battle was fought by the two princes, at a place called Kettel, upon the frontiers; in which Merfyn the king of North Wales was slain; who left an only son, named Roderic, to succeed to his dignity.[2] Ann. Dom. 843.

The prospect now opens under a new point of view; the memorable reign of Roderic Mawr, or the Great. This young prince succeeded to his father's throne with a greater extent of territory than had fallen to the share of any Cambrian sovereign. He enjoyed by the right of his father and mother the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, with the territories of North Wales and Powis; and having married Angharad the heiress of South Wales, of course the whole province of Cambria centered in his person.[3] The firmness resulting from this union, the nature of the country and

[1] Saxon Chron. p. 75. [2] Welsh Chron. p. 27, 28.

[3] Rowland, p. 173, 188. Welsh Chron. p. 35.

valour

valour of the inhabitants, their inveteracy againſt the Saxons and the perilous ſituation of that people, were important advantages which opened with the reign of Roderic. If this fortunate combination of circumſtances, had been directed agreeably to a wiſe policy, they would probably have ſecured the independency of Wales, and have fixed its government on a baſis ſo ſolid and permanent, that it might have ſupported the ſtorms of ages, and have fallen at length in the ruins of time, unleſs undermined by the arts, and the luxury of a bordering and more powerful people.

Instead of taking advantage of this fortunate conjuncture, a Criſis which will never more return in the annals of Wales, a fatal and irreparable meaſure took place. For Roderic, early in his reign, divided his dominions into three Principalities, which during his life, were governed by chieftains acting under his authority; and this ſingular event ſeems to have ariſen from the narrow idea, that the Welſh, accuſtomed to be ruled by their own princes, ought not to yield obedience to a common ſovereign.[1]

The death of Merfyn Frych the late prince, and the victory gained over the Welſh, flattered Berthred, the king of Mercia, with the hopes of farther ſucceſs from the youth and inexperience of Roderic. Agreeably to this deſign,

[1] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174.

and

and ſtrengthened by the aid of Ethulwulph, the king of England, he entered North Wales with a powerful army,[1] and advanced as far as Angleſey; which he laid waſte in a cruel manner.[2] The young prince on this trying occaſion, neglected no exertion, which was due to his own honour and to the defence of his country; by a ſpirited oppoſition the king of Mercia was prevented from making any great progreſs in the iſland: and ſoon after, fortunately for the Welſh, the attention of that prince was employed in the protection of his own dominions from the increaſing power of the Danes.[3] The inroads of theſe people increaſing every day, the Engliſh, fully employed in attending to their own ſafety, left the Welſh to enjoy for many years a ſeaſon of unuſual tranquillity.

Ann. Dom. 846.

In this favourable ſituation, if Roderic had poſſeſſed the qualities of a truly great prince, he would at leaſt have attempted to provide againſt future evils; and the nature of the country, interſected with rivers and fortified with mountains, and almoſt ſurrounded by the ocean, might have pointed out the rational means of defence. Had this prince made a proper uſe of the leiſure which the troubles in England had given him, he would have placed garriſons

[1] Sim. Dunelme, p. 120, 139. Hiſt. Angl. Script. Math. Weſtm. p. 231.

[2] Chron. Wales, p. 35.

[3] Simon Dunelme Ann. 874. Saxon Chron. p. 82. Chron. of Wales, p. 31.

in

in the frontier towns, would have collected magazines and fortified the passes, and would have endeavoured to reduce his subjects to a just subordination, by promoting among them a spirit of union, and a steady obedience to the laws: instead of which, that period seems to have been distinguished by a total neglect of every measure, which, if steadily pursued, might have given security to his dominions.

Ann. Dom. 872.

At this time Alfred had ascended the throne of England.[1] Engaged through his reign, in affairs of war or legislation, or in introducing into his kingdom learning and the arts, this prince filled every department in the state, and those appertaining to science, with men of the greatest abilities.[2] Having founded the university of Oxford, he invited out of Wales two persons distinguished for their learning, John, surnamed Scotus, and Asser, who had been educated in the college of St. David; the former of whom he appointed a professor in the university he had lately established:[3] and, taught by experience the impolicy of contending with the Danes by land, and the necessity of establishing such a naval force as might enable him to oppose them at sea, he engaged in his service by rewards and artful suggestions, many Welshmen acquainted with the art of ship-building, whom he

[1] William Malmsbury, lib. II. cap. IV. p. 42.

[2] Polydore Virgil, lib. V. p. 106. [3] Chron. of Wales, p. 33.

appointed

appointed ſuperintendents of the dock yards, and afterwards employed in honourable ſtations in the fleet.[1]

The Danes having received a repulſe in England, and being by treaty obliged to leave that country, made a deſcent on the iſle of Angleſey, where in two battles they met with a very ſpirited oppoſition from Roderic; one of which was fought at Bangole, and the other at Menegid. At the ſame time, South Wales was over-run with another body of Danes, who deſolated that country, and laid the churches and religious houſes in ruins.[2] Ann. Dom. 873.

About this time Roderic changed the royal reſidence from Caer Segont to Aberffraw in Angleſey.[3] It is ſtrange, that he ſhould leave a country where every mountain was a natural fortreſs, and in times of ſuch difficulty and danger, make choice of a reſidence ſo open and defenceleſs as that iſland.

An interval of quiet from the Danes gave the Engliſh an opportunity of making another deſcent on Angleſey, which they invaded with a formidable army; but the Welſh king, oppoſing them with his uſual gallantry of ſpirit, at length fell in the defence of his country, being ſlain along

[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Brit. p. 69. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 34.
[3] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 173.

Ann. Dom. 876. with Gwyriad his brother, in one of thofe battles he fought with the Englifh in the courfe of that expedition.[1]

It has been already obferved, that the late prince, in the courfe of his reign, divided his dominions into three diftinct fovereignties, which he left to his fons Anarawd, Cadelh and Mervyn.[2] But, agreeably to the fpirit and cuftom of gavel-kind, though each poffeffed a diftinct authority within his own dominions, yet a pre-eminency over the other princes was eftablifhed in the kings of North Wales.[3] He ordained that the princes of South Wales and Powis fhould each of them pay yearly to the fovereign of North Wales a tribute[4] called Maelged of fixty-three pounds, as a mark of fubordination;[5] but the royal tribute, or teyrnged, which was due from Cambria to the imperial crown of London, agreeably to the ancient laws, was ordained in future to be paid by the princes of North Wales.[6] Regarding likewife his eldeft fon Anarwawd as

[1] Welfh Chron. p. 35. [2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174.

[3] Britifh Antiquities Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 8, 25, 40. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 64, 65.

[4] Thefe tributes, according to Vaughan of Hengwrt in Brit. Ant. Reviv. p. 39, 40, were paid in the following manner. The kings of North Wales were to pay £63 to the crown of London. The princes of Powis four tons of flour, and the princes of South Wales four tons of honey to the fovereigns of North Wales.

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64, 65. Rowland, p. 175.

[6] Ibid.

the

the immediate heir of the Cynethian line, he left to him and to his ſucceſſors, the title of *Brenhin Cymry Oll*, or the king of all Wales.[1]

IN order to cement more cloſely in a common intereſt his ſons and their ſucceſſors, he enjoined, that if any two of theſe princes ſhould happen to differ about their particular intereſts, in ſuch caſe the third ſhould interfere and finally arbitrate the matter.[2] It was ordained, that if any difference ſhould ariſe between the princes of North and South Wales, they ſhould all meet at Bwlch-y-Pawl, and the prince of Powis was appointed the umpire. If the princes of Aberffraw and Powis ſhould be at variance, they were all to aſſemble at Morva-Rhianedd on the banks of the Dee, and the prince of South Wales was to determine the controverſy. If the diſpute ſhould ariſe between the princes of Powis and South Wales, the meeting was appointed to be held at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and the matter in contention was to be decided by the king of Aberffraw.[3] Roderic muſt have been little acquainted with human nature, to imagine that ſuch regulations were ſufficient to counteract, at a diſtant period, the wild paſſions and ambition of princes.

[1] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175. [2] Ibid. p. 175.

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 35.

Other inſtitutions better marked the ſtrength and liberality of his mind. He ordained, that if their ſeparate territories ſhould be invaded by a foreign enemy, the three Welſh princes were in that caſe to aſſiſt, and to afford mutual protection to each other: that caſtles and other ſtrong holds ſhould be fortified and kept in repair: that the churches and religious houſes ſhould be re-built and adorned: that the Britiſh hiſtory ſhould be faithfully tranſcribed and enlarged: and that the archives of Britain, the monuments of her glory, ſhould be carefully depoſited in the monaſteries of Wales.[1]

From ſuch attentions as theſe, or perhaps from a compariſon with the other Welſh princes in extent of dominion, and in perſonal ability, Roderic hath gained from poſterity the ſurname of Great. If to produce the wealth and grandeur, the ſafety and happineſs of a ſtate, be the means of attaining ſuch a title, then, ſurely, the conduct of this prince gave him little claim to that honourable diſtinction. Inſtead of acting up to the great deſign of government, Roderic, without precedent to palliate or apparent neceſſity to enforce ſuch a meaſure, yielded up the independency of Wales; enjoining his poſterity by a ſolemn reſcript, to pay to the Saxon kings, as a mark of ſubordination, a yearly tribute; a tribute, though ariſing

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 35.

out

out of ancient laws, due only from the Cambrian to the Britiſh princes; and which, no doubt, became from this period the baſis on which was founded that claim of ſupremacy ever after aſſerted by the Engliſh. The diviſion which Roderic made of his dominions, was likewiſe the ſource of civil diſſentions and national weakneſs, and was ſoon the cauſe of a decline in patriotiſm, and of a ſtriking barbarity in manners; a ſeries of evils, which at length occaſioned the ruin of the ſtate, and ſcarcely ended with the conqueſt of the Welſh, and the loſs of their political exiſtence.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN.

THE present æra opens a new proſpect of the hiſtory of Wales, in which this country, which in the late reign had centered in one ſovereign, was divided into three diſtinct principalities.

CADELH, the ſecond ſon of the late prince, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of South Wales,[1] diſtinguiſhed by the name of Deheubarth, as lying to the ſouth of the other provinces.[2] The reſidence of the princes of this country was at Dinefwr,[3] on the banks of the river Towi in Caer- Ann. Dom. 877.

[1] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174. [2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 64.
[3] Dinas Vawr, or the great palace.

marthenſhire;

marthenshire; where a palace had been erected by Roderic,[1] in a situation strongly fortified by woods and mountains, and more convenient, on that account, than their ancient abode at Caermarthen upon the same river; which was probable at this time in the hands of the English.[2] This district, the *Demetia* of the Romans, was divided into the present countries of Cardigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecknock; consisted of twenty-six cantress, and eighty-one comots;[3] and was encompassed by the Irish sea, by the Severn, and by the rivers Wey and Dyvi.[4] The continual influx of foreigners into this country was the means of debasing the language from its original purity.[5]

Ann. Dom. 877.

Merfyn, the yongest son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the principality of Powis.[6] The residence of the princes of this country was at Mathraval in Montgomeryshire, at which place a palace had been built by the late prince.[7] The principality of Powis, afterwards broken into the divisions of Powis Fadoc, and Powis Wenwynwyn;[8] had ten cantrevs and twenty-seven comots;[9] was bounded on the north by North Wales, on the east by the country

[1] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 34.
[2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79.
[3] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 16—20.
[4] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75, 76.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Rowland Mon. p. 175.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.
[9] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 10, 11.

which

which lies between Chester and Hereford, on the south by England, and on the west by the river Wye, and mountains which divide it from South Wales.[1] The open situation and fertility of this country, exposed it to continual invasions; and having more to dread from the arms of the English, than to expect from the regular support of their countrymen, the princes of Powis took an early and frequent part in the interests of England.

Anawrawd, the eldest son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales.[2] This territory was the *Venedocia* of the Romans,[3] and was by the Britons called Gwynedh.[4] The residence of the sovereigns of this district was at Aberffraw in Anglesey, in a palace which had been erected during the life of prince Roderic.[5] The principality of North Wales, in the four divisions of Anglesey, Arvon,[6] Merionith and Berfeddwlad,[7] containing fifteen cantress and thirty-eight comots;[8] was bounded on the west and north by the Irish sea; on the south west by the river Dyfi, which separated it from South Wales; and on the south and east, was divided from Powis and England Ann. Dom. 877.

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70. [2] Rowland, p. 174.
[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64. [4] Ibid.
[5] Welsh Chron. p. 36. Rowland, p. 174. [6] Signifying, above Mona.
[7] The inward or middle part. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64—66.
[8] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 5—8.

by mountains and rivers, particularly by the Dee.[1] The language ſpoken in this country is eſteemed the moſt pure, and comes the neareſt to that of the ancient Britons. Its inhabitants from a variety of cauſes, preſerved their independency longer than the other principalities. Beſides the valour of the people, and in general the public virtue of their princes, the natural ſituation of the country of Snowdun, a range of mountains extending from one ſea to the other, and guarded by two rivers diſcharging themſelves into the ſea at Traeth Mawr, and Cynwy or Conway, formed a rampart exceedingly ſtrong; over which the Welſh uſually retreated when they were preſſed by the Engliſh arms. The principal defiles likewiſe which opened through that range of vaſt mountains were ſecured by ſtrong fortifications. The caſtle of Diganwy was placed oppoſite to the water of the Conway, an arm of the ſea which opened into the country; that of Caer Run was ſituated at the paſs of Bwlch y ddau-vaen, with a fort at Aber; Dolwyddelen caſtle and a watch tower were placed at Nant Frankon; Dolbadern caſtle at Nant Peris; and the fort at Kidom was fixed at Nant tal-y-Llyn. The other paſs of Traeth Mawr was guarded by the ſtrong caſtles of Harlech on one ſide of the bay, and of Cricieth on the other; with a watch tower at Kaſel Gyfarch, and a fort at Dolbenmaen.[2] Theſe

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64. [2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 148.

defences,

defences, all of them placed in the moſt advantageous ſituations, marked, for a rude age, great military ſagacity.

The fatal policy of Roderic appeared early in the reign of Cadelh, the prince of South Wales, who took poſſeſſion by force of the territory of Powis on the death of his brother Merfyn; incited by ambition, or the jealouſy natural to brothers who enjoy an equal ſhare in their father's dominions and dignity.[1] Ann. Dom. 876.

At the ſame time Anarawd, the prince of North Wales, had an opportunity of affording to the northern Britons, the like friendly protection, which his anceſtors had ſo often received from their countrymen in Armorica. The remains of the Strath-Clwyd Britons, having been harraſſed by the Danes, Saxons and Scots, and after ſevere conflicts with them, having loſt Conſtantine their king in battle, applied to Anarawd for an aſylum in his dominions.[2] This prince offered to receive them on the only tenure incident to theſe turbulent ages, which was to obtain and preſerve a ſettlement by the power of the ſword.

Under the conduct of Hobart, theſe northern Britons came into Wales, and having every motive of reſentment and intereſt to urge them to valour, they eaſily diſpoſſeſſed

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 35. [2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 31.

the Saxons of that country between the Dee and the Conway.[1]

Ann. Dom. 878.

These Britons remained for a time in quiet poſſeſſion of their new kingdom, till Eadred, the duke of Mercia, mortified with the diſgrace his arms had ſuffered, made preparations to recover the country which had been ſo eaſily torn from him.[2] The Britons, having early intelligence of his deſign, removed their cattle and other valuable effects beyond the river Conway. To ſupport his allies, and expel from the boſom of his country its hereditary enemies, Anarawd exhibited a ſpirit and activity ſuitable to the importance of the occaſion; and having encountered the Saxons at Cymryd, about two miles from the preſent town of Conway, by his own gallantry and the bravery of his troops, gave them an entire defeat. With a pious and honeſt exultation, the young prince called this memorable action Dial Rodri,[3] expreſſive of the vengeance he had taken for his father's death.[4] Purſuing their victory, the Welſh inſtantly followed the Saxons into Mercia, laid waſte the borders, and returned home loaded with valuable ſpoils.[5] After their return, Anarawd, agreeably to the piety of thoſe days, and to expreſs his gratitude for the late proſ-

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 31, 32.
[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38.
[3] Or Roderic's revenge.
[4] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38.
[5] Ibid.

perous

perous event, endowed the collegiate church of Bangor, and that of Clynnoc Vawr in Arfon with lands and great poſſeſſions.[1] These northern Britons, by an unaccountable and ſingular policy, were allowed to eſtabliſh a ſeparate ſtate in the vale of Clwyd, in *Rhos,* and in the conquered[2] country.[3] Part of this country had been called Tegenia by the Romans, Englefeld by the Saxons, and Tegengb by the Welſh, but being now united with the other territories, the Britons gave to their new kingdom the name of Strad Clwyd; part of it being ſituated on the banks of the river Clwyd.[4]

At this early period, civil diſſention, an evil naturally ſpringing out of the weak conduct of Roderic, which ſoon ſet aſide the futile regulations of that prince, had taken root in the breaſts of his ſons. For Anarawd, after the late ſtorm was diſperſed, probably on account of the tribute not having been duly paid,[5] united with the Engliſh againſt his brother the prince of South Wales, and with their joint forces invaded his territory, and laid waſte the country of Cardigan and Yſtradgwy.[6] Ann. Dom. 893.

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38. Cambden's Brit. p. 671.

[2] The country from Conway along the Dee to Cheſter.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Notes on Powel's Hiſt. of Wales from Vaughan of Hengwrts, p. 31, 32.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69.

[5] Britiſh Antiquities Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 13.

[6] Chron. Wales, p. 41.

THE

The Danes, at this time, being obliged to flee before the arms of Alfred, made a descent on the coast of Wales, and advanced into the country as far as Buellt;[1] and sometime after being again discomfited by that prince, they laid waste
Ann. Dom. 896. the country of Brecknock, and other districts in South Wales.[2]

At this time a large body of Danes landed in Anglesey; but this invasion seems only to have been distinguished by a battle fought at Meilon, and by the death of Merfyn the
Ann. Dom. 900. prince of Powis.[3]

Ann. Dom. 907. In this year Cadelh, the prince of South Wales died, and was succeeded in that dignity by his eldest son Howel, who likewise became the sovereign of Powis, very probably on the death of his uncle Merfyn, who was slain in Anglesey.[4]

The city of Chester, which appears to have lain in ruins ever since it had been deserted or demolished by the Danes in the year 895,[5] was rebuilt and much improved by Elfleda, the wife of the tributary sovereign of Mercia:[6] she likewise repaired the walls, and enlarged their circuit round the castle,
Ann. Dom. 908. which before this time had been situated without the city.[7]

[1] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 41, 42. [2] Ibid. [3] Chron. Wales, p. 42.
[4] Welsh Chron. p. 44, 46. [5] Saxon Annals, p. 95.
[6] Math. Westm. Flores Hist. p. 269.
[7] Brompton's Chron. p. 838. Fabian's Chron. p. 224. Printed at London Ann. Dom. 1559.

A few

A few years after this event, Anarawd, the king of North Wales died, and left two ſons, Edwal Voel and Eliſe.

Edwal Voel, the eldeſt ſon of the late prince, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales, and was married to the daughter of his uncle Merfyn, prince of Powis.[1] Early in his reign the Iriſh made a deſcent on Angleſey, which they laid waſte in a cruel manner.[2] Ann. Dom. 913.

At this period, Athelſtane the king of England, having in ſeveral victories triumphed over the Danes and Scots, marched with an army into Wales, and at Hereford impoſed on the princes of that country a yearly tribute of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred head of cattle, beſides a certain number of hawks and hounds.[3] This arbitrary tribute, extorted from the Welſh, while under the influence of power, was no longer regarded than while the kings of England had the means of enforcing its obſervance. Ann. Dom. 933.

A Welsh nobleman having been impriſoned in England, and his confinement being reſented by Edwal Voel, pro-

[1] Britiſh Antiquities Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 4.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 45, 47.

[3] Brompton's Chron. p. 838, with reſpect to the tribute, with the difference only of doubling the number of cattle. Stowe's Chron. p. 82. Welſh Chron. p. 50. Grafton's Chron. p. 149. publiſhed Ann. 1569.

bably

bably as an insult offered to the independency of his crown, that prince, with his brother Elise, attempted by hostilities Ann. Dom. 940. to revenge the affront, but in the contest they were both slain fighting against the English and Danes.[1] The prince of North Wales left six sons, Meyric, Jevaf, Jago, Cynan, Edwal and Roderic; and his brother Elise a son called Cynan, and a daughter named Trawst.[2]

The love of power is an active and commanding principle in man: to attain and preserve it, he will employ his utmost sagacity, and bend the full force of his various faculties. Even the wise and temperate mind of Howel, prince of South Wales, was not exempt from its influence. The great esteem into which this prince had arisen from a just administration, had probably gained him, some years before, the sovereignty of Powis; and enabled him, at this Ann. Dom. 940. time, by the accession of North Wales, to unite into one kingdom the three principalities.[3] Whether he attained that dignity, solely, by the efforts of ambition, or was called to it by the voice of the people, or that talents for government, in these disordered times, occasionally set aside the regular course of succession; it is certain, the sons of the late prince, immediately on their father's death, were superseded by Howel, without any farther opposition on their

[1] Welsh Chron. p. 51.

[2] Welsh Chron. p. 51. British Antiq. Reviv. by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 14.

[3] Welsh Chron. p. 52

part,

part, than unavailing murmurs and diſcontent.[1] Whatever were the means by which he attained the ſovereignty of North Wales, his early attention to the common weal, and the mild tenor of his government, will, in ſome meaſure palliate, though it can never vindicate upon any principle of expediency, an act of injuſtice.

To reduce his ſubjects to a ſenſe of order, and to render them ſubordinate to civil authority, Howel determined to collect into one code the ancient cuſtoms and laws of Wales, which had nearly loſt their efficacy and weight in the lapſe of ages, and in the confuſion, and turbulency of the times. In purſuance of this deſign, he convened the archbiſhop of St. David's, and other biſhops and clergy to the number of one hundred and forty, with the principal barons of Wales: out of every comot were likewiſe ſummoned ſix perſons, diſtinguiſhed by their talents and virtues. This aſſembly, forming a great national council, met upon the banks of the Tâf, at the white palace belonging to prince Howel.[2] In order to give the meeting a greater ſolemnity, and to implore the Divine Wiſdom to influence their counſels, the prince himſelf, with the whole aſſembly, remained during Lent in the continual exerciſe of prayer and other acts of devotion. As ſoon as this ſolemn preparation was finiſhed, Howel ſelected twelve perſons who

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 52. [2] Ibid. p. 53.

were eminent for wiſdom, gravity, and experience; and he joined in the commiſſion Blegored, the archdeacon of Llandaff, a perſon highly diſtinguiſhed for learning, and a knowledge of the laws. This committee entered immediately into a ſtrict examination of the cuſtoms and ancient inſtitutions of Wales. With a judicious and diſcriminating eye they aboliſhed every law become injurious or unneceſſary; thoſe, likewiſe, which time had rendered confuſed and unintelligible, were explained with greater perſpicuity; and by a proper digeſt of the whole, a ſyſtem was framed, which, allowing for limited ideas in jurisprudence, was wiſely adapted to the genius, neceſſities, and ſituation of the Welſh.[1]

THIS code was formed on the baſis of the ancient national laws.[2]

AFTER the new laws had been read, proclaimed, and ratified by the public approbation, three copies of them were put into writing; one of which was deſigned for the uſe of the prince, and to follow his court, and the others were depoſited in the palaces of Aberffraw and Dinefwr. This may be conſidered as a tolerable advance in juridical

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 53.

[2] Said to have been originally framed by Moelmutius, who reigned in Britain 441 years before Chriſt. Holinſhead, p. 177.

policy,

policy, for that age, when private rights and public laws had been, in a great meaſure, tranſmitted by local cuſtoms and immemorial tradition. To add ſtill greater authority to the laws, and to ſtamp them as objects of religious veneration, the archbiſhop of St. David's denounced excommunication on all who ſhould violate them. Influenced, likewiſe, by the ſpirit of the age, or deſirous of rendering ſuch a ceremony ſubſervient to his views, Howel, attended by the archbiſhop of St. David's, the biſhop of Bangor and St. Aſaph, and thirteen other perſons of diſtinction, proceeded to Rome; where the new ſyſtem of legiſlation was ſolemnly ratified by the Pope; and having thus given the laſt ſanction to his laws, he returned into Wales.[1]

The mild temper of this prince ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to have influenced the tranſactions of his reign; few military incidents having diſturbed it during a period of forty years. At this time, however, the Engliſh, with a conſiderable force, invaded North Wales, and after they had laid waſte the ſmall territory of Strad-Clwyd, returned into their own country.[2] Ann. Dom. 944.

A few years after this event king Howel died, leaving four ſons, Owen, Run, Roderic, and Edwyn; who, dividing among themſelves the principalities of South Wales and Ann. Dom. 948.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 54. [2] Ibid. p. 58.

Powis, relinquiſhed North Wales to the right heirs, Jevaf and Jago, the ſons of Edwal Voel.[1]

The death of this amiable prince, who had long enjoyed the mild honours reſulting from peace, and the public eſteem, ſpread univerſally the deepeſt ſorrow.

As a grateful memorial of his virtues, poſterity have given him the ſurname of Dha, or the Good. His code of laws is the beſt eulogium of his memory, and raiſe him as much above the reſt of the Cambrian princes,[2] as peace, and gentleneſs of manners, and a regulated ſtate, are preferable to the evils inſeparable from war, to the fierceneſs of uncivilized life, and to the habits of a wild independency.

THE LAWS OF HOWEL DHA were divided into three parts, each of which had a diſtinct and ſeparate object; the king's prerogatives, with the œconomy of his court; the affairs of civil juriſprudence; and the criminal law.

The king poſſeſſed, by virtue of his prerogative, the patronage of monaſteries, the protection of public roads,

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 58.

[2] From this compariſon it is the author's meaning to except thoſe Britiſh and Cambrian princes who defended their country from the rapacity or ambition of foreign enemies: a conduct than which nothing can be more meritorious, or ſcarcely any thing have a higher claim on the reſpect and gratitude of mankind.

the right of creating laws with conſent of his people, of coining money within his dominions, and of preſiding in the principal cauſes that related to himſelf, his crown, and its appendages. He was empowered to lead an army only once a year, and for no longer time than ſix weeks, out of his kingdom; within his own territories he might at any time muſter his ſubjects and conduct them to battle. He was privileged to hunt in any part of his dominions. He had a power of compelling any of his ſubjects to build the royal caſtles.

If any perſon addreſſed the king with unbecoming and inſolent language, he was conſtrained to pay a fine of ſix head of cattle. Offences againſt the king were, to commit adultery with his queen, to kill his ſubſtitute, and violate his protection. The judges were conſidered as the king's ſubſtitutes. The fine for theſe treaſons conſiſted of a rod of gold of the king's ſtature, a bull, and a hundred cows, from every cantred or diſtrict belonging to the attainted perſon. For aſſaſſinating the king the penalty was made threefold.

The witneſs or debtor who followed the ſound of the military horn, when the king went to war, was excuſed from obedience to a legal ſummons. At his acceſſion he confirmed the rights of places of aſylum; and it was alſo his prerogative to fix the bounds of cantreds and trevs or townſhips. He had likewiſe

likewiſe a power of bringing to immediate trial cauſes in which the crown was concerned, and of ſetting aſide a written law to make room for a traditional cuſtom. There were ſpecies of offences which gave the king the privilege of ſelling the offenders. The king was not amenable to his own judges.

To moderate theſe exceſſes of authority, ſome limitations were thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. If complaint was made that the king, or any of his ſubſtitutes, had violated the laws, and exerciſed oppreſſion, the matter was then to be decided by a verdict of the country; that is, a jury of fifty men holding lands, ſworn to do juſtice; if the accuſation was found to be juſt, they ordered reparation to be made. The king had no power to puniſh his ſubjects for offences committed out of his kingdom, or in the time of his predeceſſor. Though he had granted to an abbey rights or privileges by which his prerogative was infringed, yet the law ordained that the grant ſhould never be revoked; alledging that it is ſafer to diminiſh than increaſe the royal power.

The Welſh, engaged in a roving and military life, had little leiſure to exerciſe the arts, or cultivate the ground; and of conſequence were, in ſome degree, in a ſtate of poverty. They had many uſages, however, which tended to make their princes opulent, and to ſupply them with the means of diſplaying that unreſtrained hoſpitality by which their reſidence was always rendered conſpicuous.

The

The king was the original landlord of the whole of his dominions. The ſervices by which lands were held under him were of three kinds; military ſervice, ſervice in the courts of law, and the payment of the public tribute; which in ancient times was made with horned cattle. When lands, by neglecting the ſervice for the performance of which they were granted, or by deſerting them without the king's leave, were forfeited, they reverted to him. His ſubjects were obliged to build the royal palaces, and, in a great meaſure, they maintained his houſehold; he was entitled to all treaſures wherever found; to all goods not claimed by any owner, and the poſſeſſions of deceaſed biſhops. Among the various productive ſources of revenue, was the ſale of honourable and lucrative places; and the eſcheat of goods exceeding one pound in value, ſuch as horſes, oxen, cows, gold, ſilver, and embroidered garments; eſcheated goods of inferior price belonged to the royal officers and domeſtics. According to the ancient diviſion of Wales, ſettled by its laws, a cantredh contained two commots, a commot twelve manors, a manor four townſhips or pariſhes. A yearly tribute of one pound was due from every free manor, and was paid to the king in money; or in lieu thereof, a horſe load of the beſt flour, a ſlaughtered ox, a caſk of medh or mead, one hundred and ſixty ſheaves of oats for the provender of the king's horſes, a ſow, a flitch of bacon, and a veſſel of butter. This tribute was paid in the ſummer. In winter the royal houſehold was in a great meaſure ſup-

ported

ported by the free manors; each of which paid likewiſe two ſhillings in money, to be divided among the domeſtics. Thoſe manors which were not emancipated, but remained in a ſtate of vaſſalage, paid twice in the year a ſmaller tribute, conſiſting of ale, butter, cheeſe, bread, corn for provender, hogs and ſheep. In every commot of Wales two townſhips remained ungranted to any ſubject, in the king's private poſſeſſion. A mayor and a chancellor ſuperintended the king's demeſne; the latter officer had the privilege of being preceded by a virger; he had alſo the power of impriſonment, and was not liable to be taxed. Shipwrecks and all things thrown up by the ſea on the ſhore of the king's perſonal eſtates, became his property: when on the coaſt of a biſhop, abbot, or any other lord, that lord was obliged to divide them with the king.

Besides theſe ſources of advantage ariſing to the king, there were many others which were conſidered as the fruits of his prerogative. He had the eſcheat of the goods of ſuicides. Strangers, who were vagabonds, and were found in any part of his dominions, were the property of the king. He was the proprietor, likewiſe, of waſtes, foreſts, and the ſea. He had the power of commanding a workman from every town in villanage to erect his tent. The villains of the crown were obliged to build for the king nine appartments of his palace: the hall, the royal bed-chamber, the pantry, the ſtable, dog kennel, the barn, the kiln,

privy,

privy, and the dormitory. Young women were reckoned among the ſources of the king's revenue, and to him a fee was paid on their marriage or violation. A fine was paid to the king on any breach of contract. A toll was alſo to be paid by every merchant ſhip which came into the ports of Wales; and if any ſhip, which had not paid toll, happened to be wrecked, its cargoe was forfeited to the king. Vaſſals, in a ſtate of villanage, were obliged nine times in the year to furniſh the king's horſes and dogs with provender, and his foreigners with proviſion. They were likewiſe conſtrained to yield up all their honey and fiſh to the uſe of the court, and to provide horſes to carry the baggage and ammunition of the army. A third part of all military plunder was yielded to the crown.

The Queen had a right of patronage, or protection; and received a third part of the revenues of the royal manors. The violation of her perſon was reckoned among the treaſonable offences, with the addition of a moiety to the ordinary penalty. A preſent of money was due to her, when her daughter was married. She had alſo a power to diſpoſe of a third part of what ſhe had received from the king.

The Heir Apparent was either the ſon, brother, nephew, or couſin of the king: and it was believed that the king's private promiſe or appointment could ſecure the ſucceſſion to either of theſe relations, without regard to nearneſs of kindred. The laws placed him near the king's perſon, and

under his authority: he ſat at the king's table, and was ſerved by the royal attendants. The king, the heir apparent, and the maſter of the palace, paid no portion with their daughters: the honour and influence derived from ſuch an alliance was deemed a ſufficient portion. Deformity of perſon, as well as incapacity of mind diſqualified the king's ſon or next of kindred from the government, as they did any ſubject from public offices and the inheritance of lands.

The Officers of the Household, and twelve gentlemen whoſe tenure of land was by military ſervice, compoſed the royal guard, and were mounted on horſes furniſhed by the king.

The Royal Household conſiſted of the following officers and domeſtics.

The Master of the Palace. He was ſometimes the heir apparent, always of the royal blood. His authority extended to every perſon of the houſehold, and when any of them fell under the king's diſpleaſure, this officer entertained him till a reconciliation was effected. He received a ſhare of all military plunder, and, on three feſtivals in the year, was obliged by his office to deliver the harp into the hands of the domeſtic bard. He was alſo, it is probable, the king's treaſurer.

The Domestic Chaplain, was by his office appointed to ſay grace, to celebrate maſs, and to be conſulted in matters of

of confcience. He was alfo fecretary to the king, and to the principal court of juftice. In the king's abfence, the domeftic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the fteward of the houfehold, fupported the royal dignity, and exercifed the authority annexed to it.

The Steward of the Household, fuperintended the inferior domeftics; receiving, among other emoluments, the fkins of lambs, kids, and fawns, and all other creatures from an ox to an eel, killed for the ufe of the king's kitchen. He was the king's tafter; and drank, but did not eat, at the king's table. He diftributed among the houfehold their wages, he affigned them proper feats in the hall of the palace, and allotted the appartments where they were to lodge.

The Master of the Hawks, was required to fleep near his birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept, and not in the palace, left they fhould be injured by the fmoke. He was reftricted to a certain meafure of mead and ale, that he might not neglect his duty. In fpring he had the fkin of a hind, and in autumn that of a ftag, for gloves to guard his hands, and thongs for the geffes of his hawks. The eagle, the crane, the hawk, the falcon, and the raven, were confidered as royal birds; when any of thefe were killed without authority, a fine was paid to the king. The king owed three fervices to the mafter of the hawks; on the

day when he took a curlieu, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horſe of this officer while he took the bird, held his ſtirrup while he mounted and diſmounted; and that night honoured him likewiſe with three different preſents. If the king was not in the field, he roſe from his ſeat to receive this officer upon his return; or if he did not riſe, he gave him the garment he then wore.

The Judge of the Palace. The court in which this judge preſided, was the principal court of Wales. It is ſaid that he always lodged in the hall of the palace, and that the cuſhion on which the king was ſeated in the day, ſerved for his pillow at night. On his appointment, he received an ivory cheſs-board from the king, a gold-ring from the queen, and another gold-ring from the domeſtic bard; which he always kept as the inſignia of his office. When he entered, or departed out of the palace, the great gate was opened for him, that his dignity might not be degraded by paſſing under a wicket. He determined the rank and duty of the ſeveral officers of the houſehold. He decided poetical conteſts; and received from the victorious bard, whom he rewarded with a ſilver chair, the badge of poetical pre-eminence, a gold-ring, a drinking horn, and a cuſhion. If complaint was made to the king, that the judge of the palace had pronounced an unjuſt ſentence, and the accuſation was proved, he was then forever deprived of his office, and condemned to loſe his tongue, or pay the uſual ranſom for

that

that member. The other judges were alſo ſubject to theſe ſevere but ſalutary conditions. A perſon ignorant of the laws, whom the king deſigned to make his principal judge, was required to reſide previouſly for a whole year in the palace, that he might obtain from the other judges, who reſorted thither from the country, a competent knowledge of his duty and profeſſion. During this year, the difficult cauſes which occurred, were ſtated and referred by him to the king: at the expiration of this term he was to receive the ſacrament from the hands of the domeſtic chaplain, and to ſwear at the altar that he would never knowingly pronounce an unjuſt ſentence, nor ever be influenced by bribes or intreaties, hatred or affection: he was then placed by the king in his ſeat, and inveſted with the judicial authority; and afterwards received preſents from the whole houſehold. It was reckoned among the remarkable and peculiar cuſtoms of the Welſh, that the tongues of all animals ſlaughtered for the houſehold were given to the judge of the palace.

The Master of the Horse. His lodging was near the royal ſtables and granary; and it was his duty to make an equal diſtribution of provender among the royal horſes. From every perſon on whom the king had beſtowed one of his horſes, this officer received a preſent. To him and to his equerries belonged all colts, not two years old, included in the king's ſhare of ſpoils taken in war. To him alſo belonged the riding caps, ſaddles, bridles, and ſpurs, which the

the king had uſed and laid aſide. The ſpurs, we are told, were of gold, ſilver, and braſs. It was part of his duty, to produce the horſe belonging to the judge of the palace in good condition and in his complete furniture. The judge, in return for this care, inſtructed him in the nature of his rank and privileges. The extent of his protection was, the diſtance to which the ſwifteſt horſe in the king's ſtables could run.

The Chamberlain, was obliged to eat and ſleep in the king's private apartment, which he was appointed to guard. It was his duty to fill, and preſent to the king, his drinking horn; and to keep alſo his plate and rings, for all of which he was accountable. When the king's bed-furniture and wearing apparel were laid aſide, they were given to the chamberlain. If a perſon, walking in the king's chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be ſlain, the laws gave no compenſation for his death.

The Domestic Bard, was conſidered as next in rank to the chief Bard of Wales. He was obliged, at the queen's command, to ſing in her own chamber, three different pieces of poetry ſet to muſic, but in a low voice, that the court might not be diſturbed in the hall. At his appointment he received a harp from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. On three great feſtivals in the year, he received

ceived and wore the garments of the ſteward of the houſehold, and at thoſe entertainments ſat next to the maſter of the palace. He accompanied the army when they marched into the enemies country; and when they prepared for battle, he ſung before them an ancient poem called Unbenniaeth Prydain, or the Monarchy of Britain; and for this ſervice was rewarded with the moſt valuable beaſt of the plunder which they brought back from theſe incurſions.

An Officer to command Silence. This he performed firſt by his voice, and afterwards by ſtriking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domeſtic chaplain uſually ſat: and to him a fine was due for every diſturbance in the court. He took charge of the implements of huſbandry, and of the flocks and herds belonging to the king's demeſne, in the abſence of the bailiff, or during the vacancy of his place. He was alſo a collector of the royal revenues.

The Master of the Hounds. In the hunting ſeaſon he was entertained, together with his ſervants and dogs, by the tenants who held lands in villanage from the king. Hinds were hunted from the middle of February to midſummer, and ſtags from that time to the middle of October. From the ninth day of November to the end of that month he hunted the wild boar. On the firſt day of November he brought his hounds and all his hunting

apparatus

apparatus for the king's inſpection: and then the ſkins of the animals he had killed in the preceding ſeaſon were divided, according to a ſettled proportion, between the king, himſelf, and his attendants. A little before Chriſtmas he returned to the court, to ſupport his rank and enjoy his privileges. During his reſidence at the palace he was lodged in the kiln-houſe, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs. His bugle was the horn of an ox, valued at one pound. Whenever his oath was required, he ſwore by his horn, hounds, and leaſhes. Early in the morning, before he put on his boots, and then only, he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature. The maſter of the hounds, or any other perſon who ſhared with the king, had a right to divide, and the king to chooſe. It was his duty, to accompany the army on its march with his horn; and to ſound the alarm, and the ſignal of battle. His protection extended to any diſtance which the ſound of his horn could reach. The laws declared, that the beaver, the marten, and the ſtoat were the king's wherever killed, and that with the furry ſkin of theſe animals his robes were to be bordered. The legal price of a beaver's ſkin was ſtated at ten ſhillings.[1]

The Medd or Mead-brewer. This liquor, which was the wine commonly uſed by the Welſh, was made

[1] Lord Lyttelton, ſurely, was not appriſed of the teſtimony of Howel's laws, when he ridiculed Giraldus's account of beavers in Wales as fabulous.

with

with honey mixed in a vat with boiling water, and ſpiced. The wax ſeparated by this proceſs from the honey, was partly given to the mead-brewer, and partly applied to the uſes of the hall, which was the refectory of the palace, and to thoſe of the queen's dining apartment.

The Physician of the Household, was alſo a practitioner of ſurgery. In ſlight caſes he cured the king's domeſtics without a fee. When he healed a common wound, he claimed the torn and bloody garments of the wounded perſon. When the brain was laid open, the bowels in ſight, or a thigh, leg, or arm was fractured, he received one pound for the cure. He was entitled to a bond from the family of his patient, by which he was indemnified, if death enſued from his preſcriptions: if he did not take this precaution, and the patient happened to die, he was liable to a legal proſecution. He always attended the army on its march.

The Cup-bearer, had charge of the mead-cellar, and filled and preſented the drinking horns.

The Door-keeper, whoſe duty it was to carry meſſages to the king and his court. His ſtation and lodging was the gate-houſe. He was required to know perſonally all the officers of the houſehold, that he might not refuſe admittance to any of them, which refuſal was conſidered

and puniſhed as a violation of privilege. If he deſerted his poſt, and happened to receive any inſult, he could obtain on that account no compenſation. He cleared the way before the king, and with his rod kept off the crowd. He preſerved the hall of the palace free from intruders, and did not ſit, but kneel in the king's preſence. The door-keeper of the palace, and the door-keeper of the royal chamber, lodged with the gate-keeper in the gate-houſe.

The Cook, to whoſe office appertained the ſkins of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the kitchen. He always carried the laſt diſh out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king, who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

The Sconce-bearer, who held wax tapers when the king ſat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

The Steward to the Queen; this officer was alſo her taſter. He ſuperintended her domeſtics, and was entertained at her table.

The Queen's Chaplain, who was alſo her ſecretary, and received a fee for every grant or inſtrument which bore her ſeal. He was alſo entertained in her dining apartment, and ſat oppoſite to her at table. He was entitled by his office

office to the penitential robes which the queen wore during lent. He lodged together with the king's chaplain, in the ſacriſtan's houſe.

The Master of the Horse to the Queen, was in ſeveral reſpects upon the ſame footing with the king's officer of the ſame name.

The Queen's Chamberlain, tranſacted every buſineſs between her apartment and the hall, and kept her wardrobe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be at hand when ever he was wanted.

The Woman of the Queen's Chamber, whoſe office it was to ſleep ſo near her miſtreſs as to be able to hear her ſpeak though in a whiſper. She was entitled to the queen's linen, hairlaces, ſhoes, bridles, and ſaddles, when they were laid aſide.

The Door-keeper to the queen, lodged in the gate-houſe.

The Queen's Cook.

The Queen's Sconce-bearer.

The Groom of the Rein, who, when the maſter of the horſe was abſent, ſupplied his place. He led the king's horſe to and from the ſtables, brought out his arms, held

his ſtirrup when he mounted or diſmouted, and ran by his ſide as his page.

An Officer to support the King's Feet at Banquets: he was the foot-ſtool of his throne, and the guard of his perſon. There was one in every cantred.

The Bailiff of the king's demeſne. It was his province to judge and to puniſh the king's private vaſſals, and to him their heriots and amercements were paid. The ſervants of the chancellor and the officers of revenue drove into his cuſtody the tribute-cattle, and by him the king's houſehold was ſupplied with proviſion.

The Apparitor, as an officer of the houſehold, ſtood between the two pillars in the hall, and had the charge of the palace during entertainments, that it might not ſuffer any damage by fire or otherwiſe. He appeared likewiſe in another capacity, conveying the ſummonſes and citations of the principal court of juſtice. He carried a rod or wand as the badge of his office, and claimed entertainment at every houſe to which he was ſent: when the judges were ſitting, it was the apparitor's duty to ſilence, or take into cuſtody, thoſe offenders who diſturbed the court.

The Gate-keeper claimed by cuſtom a ſhare of ſeveral things carried through the gate houſe to the palace.

State

State priſoners were committed to his cuſtody. He acted as apparitor in the king's demeſne. He provided ſtraw for the beds and other uſes of the houſehold, and took care that the fires were lighted.

The Watch-man of the palace was a gentleman who guarded the king's perſon while he ſlept. To him were given, as ſymbols of his duty, the eyes of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the palace kitchen. When the king and the houſehold retired to reſt, a horn was ſounded, which was a ſignal to the watch-man to go upon duty. In the morning, when the palace gate was opened, he was relieved. From that time till the horn was ſounded again at night, he was permitted to ſleep, and was under no neceſſity of performing any other ſervice, unleſs he voluntarily undertook it for a reward. If he was found negligent or aſleep during his watch, he was ſubject to heavy puniſhments.

The Wood-man procured fuel for the uſes of the houſehold. He alſo ſlaughtered the cattle for the royal kitchen with his axe.

The Baker-woman.

The Palace-Smith was obliged to work without a reward for the houſehold, except when he made a boiling pot, the point of a ſpear, the wood-man's axe, the iron work

work of the gate of the palace, or royal caſtle, and the iron work of the mill. It was his duty to ſtrike off the ſhackles of priſoners releaſed by the court of juſtice, and he received a fee for that ſervice. No other ſmith was allowed to exerciſe his trade in the ſame commot with himſelf, without his permiſſion.

The Laundress.

The Chief Musician was choſen into and ſeated in the chair of muſic, for his ſuperior ſkill in that ſcience, by the ſeſſion of the bards at the end of every third year. When his term expired, if he had maintained his ſuperiority, he was re-choſen. He was the only perſon, except the domeſtic bard, who was allowed to perform in the king's preſence. He was lodged in one of the apartments belonging to the heir apparent. In the hall he ſat next to the judge of the palace. When the king deſired to hear muſic, the chief muſician ſung to the harp two poems; one in praiſe of the Almighty, the other in honour of princes and of their exploits; after which a third poem was ſung by the domeſtic bard. His emoluments aroſe out of fees given by brides on their nuptials, and from thoſe of novices in muſic, when they were admitted to the practice of their art. The Welſh bards accompanied their ſongs with the harp, the crwth and the flute. They frequently addreſſed poems to their princes and lords, in which they aſked for preſents, ſuch as a horſe, a bull, a ſword, or a garment,

garment, and they were ſeldom, if ever, refuſed. The controller of the revenues had the privilege of bringing three gueſts to banquets in the palace. This officer and the chancellor received all the honey, the fiſh, and wild creatures, which were paid as tributes, or forfeited to the king. They alſo received a third part of the income ariſing to the king from his tenants in villanage.

These were the different officers, of whom the royal houſehold was compoſed. They were free-holders by their offices, and in conſequence of this they all enjoyed the right of protection, by which they granted criminals a temporary ſafety. On the heads of theſe perſons, and on all their members, a price was fixed by the laws. They received for their wearing apparel woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen. They were all called together by a horn.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

There were three ſpecies of courts, each of them enjoyed a diſtinct prerogative, with power to take cogniſance of offences, and to puniſh them: the royal, the epiſcopal, and the abbatial. When a perſon, ſubject to one of theſe juriſdictions, litigated with a perſon ſubject to another, the cauſe was tried by the judges of the reſpective courts conjunctively.

The

The royal courts, thoſe in which the judges ſat as the king's ſubſtitutes, were diſtinguiſhed into four kinds; the principal court, the courts of cantreds, courts of commots, and extraordinary courts. The principal court was uſually held at the king's chief reſidence.

For the adminiſtration of juſtice in the commots and cantreds remote from the principal court, inferior judges were appointed, with the title of chancellors, who alſo aſſiſted the officers of revenue, called Meiri, in collecting the taxes. Extraordinary courts were appointed by the king to hear and determine extraordinary cauſes, and to remedy the abuſes which had ariſen from a perverſion of the eſtabliſhed laws.

When the ordinary judges differed in points of law, the regular and ſecular canons were appointed in that caſe extraordinary judges.

The principal courts of North Wales and Powis conſiſted of the following officers appointed by the king: a judge, a chancellor, a provoſt, a clerk to regiſter the decrees of the court, and an apparitor to execute them. The courts of South Wales had the four laſt mentioned officers, with ſeveral judges who held their offices by virtue of the lands they poſſeſſed, and received no fees.

All the courts were ſhut in ſpring, that plowing and ſowing might not be hindered, and in autumn on account of the

the harveſt. The judges were guided in their deciſions, not only by the code of national laws, but alſo by the Brawd-lyfr[1] or Book of Reports, which contained precedents of the proceedings and decrees of their predeceſſors, and by the writings of Welſh lawyers which were held in great eſtimation. A legal cauſe was that in which four perſons or parties were concerned: the king to preſide, the judge to examine and determine, the proſecutor, and the party accuſed. The accuſing party was bound over to proſecute; the party accuſed was obliged to find ſureties, who were impriſoned during the pendency of the ſuit. In any ſuit civil or criminal, a clerical plaintiff muſt proceed againſt a lay defendant in the king's court; and of conſequence a lay plaintiff muſt proſecute his ſuit againſt his clerical adverſary in the eccleſiaſtical court.

Disputes concerning hereditary right were frequently decided by ſingle combat. Three ſorts of perſons, by the laws of Wales, might be killed with impunity; a madman, a ſtranger, and a leper. No perſon was allowed to leave his property by teſtament; unleſs to the church, and for the payment of debts.

[1] The Book of Triads, and the Book of Reports, were private volumes written by Welſh lawyers. There was likewiſe a code of Welſh laws, called the laws of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a prince poſterior to Howel. If an action was brought forward according to the laws of Blethyn, the judge could not frame his judgment by the laws of Hoel, and *vice verſa.*

A wife was not allowed by law, to be a ſurety for her huſband, or an evidence for or againſt him. A married woman had no diſpoſal of any part of her huſband's property, either by ſale or purchaſe. A daughter was only entitled to a moiety of a ſon's ſhare of the father's perſonal property. Lands and buildings were the only property which deſcended by hereditary ſucceſſion. Perſonal effects, under the regulation of the laws, were divided among the wife and children.

OF CAUSES BETWEEN SURETIES AND DEBTORS.

A debtor was obliged to indemnify his ſurety by payment of the debt, or giving a pledge, or diſavowing the bail. In a cauſe of debtor and ſurety, the ſurety was required to ſwear that he had given bail, and was diſcharged from his ſuit and bail; if he refuſed to ſwear, he loſt the cauſe, and was obliged to pay the debt. A ſurety was indemnified, only by payment of the whole and not a part of the debt. The ſurety was not bound to diſcharge the debt, till the debtor had refuſed or failed; but the law provided againſt ſuch refuſal or failure, by empowering the ſurety to take a pledge from the debtor more than equivalent to the debt. If a debtor found a ſurety, and afterwards fled to an aſylum to evade payment, the law in that caſe deprived him of his right of aſylum. Utenſils of the church could not be pledged. The bail of a reſponſible perſon

perſon could not be refuſed. Notorious drunkards, lunatics, hermits, foreigners, and perſons in holy orders were incompetent to give bail, or to enter into any covenant, action, or perſonal obligation; as were likewiſe monks without the conſent of their abbots, vaſſals without the conſent of their lords, ſcholars without the conſent of their preceptors, ſons under the age of fourteen without the conſent of their fathers, and wives without the conſent of their huſbands; except ladies of manors, giving bail for their vaſſals.

OF COMPACTS.

A legal compact was made by the meeting of the parties before a witneſs, declaring to him the nature of their compact, and joining their hands to his, under a promiſe of abiding by it. So very ſacred was a compact conſidered, that it could not be annulled even by an expreſs law.

OF THE SEVERAL CASES IN WHICH A SINGLE WITNESS WAS ADMISSIBLE.

A lord, in a cauſe between two of his vaſſals, in which he himſelf was not concerned. An abbot, between two of his monks. A father, between two of his ſons. A judge, concerning his own adjudication. A ſurety, in a cauſe concerning a matter for which he had given bail. A donor, in a cauſe concerning his own donation; or (according to other

 manu-

manuſcripts) a prieſt between two of his pariſhioners. A young woman concerning her own virginity. The public herdſman of a townſhip concerning the herd or flock under his care. A thief at the gallows concerning his accomplices.

It was uſual for a huſband to give preſents to his wife on the firſt morning after her marriage, and before ſhe aroſe out of bed; which preſents were conſidered as her own property; but if the wife neglected to ſeiſe this favourable opportunity, ſhe could never afterwards demand them.[1] This preſent was called Egweddi or Cowyll.

In caſes of divorces among the Welſh, an equal diviſion of property took place, under certain limitations. If a wife was ſeparated from her huſband before the expiration of ſeven years ſhe was entitled to enjoy her egweddi. If ſeparated after ſeven years ſhe divided with her huſband all his property. If a wife ſeparated from her huſband for juſt cauſes ſhe retained her egweddi,[2] parapharnalia, and a fine called gofyn. A widow on the death of her huſband divided with his heirs the perſonal property. When a huſband, who had repudiated his firſt, took a ſecond wife, the former was free to marry again. A woman was allowed to leave her huſband for the three following cauſes, leproſy, bad breath, and impotency; but in theſe caſes the huſband was under no obligation of dividing his property with the woman.

[1] Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 80, 88. [2] Ibid. p. 73.

CRIMINAL

CRIMINAL LAW.

An injury done to a ſingle woman was to be compenſated by half of that fine paid on the like occaſion for any injury done to her brother. The murder of either a married or ſingle woman was to be attoned for by half of the fine paid for the murder of her brother. For adultery, or even for indecent familiarities with a married woman, a fine was to be paid to the huſband by the male offender. The forcible violation, or carrying away a married woman, was compenſated by a triple augmentation of the mulct. A married woman, allowing indecent familiarities, or committing adultery with another man, might be divorced by her huſband, and in that caſe loſt her dower. The perſon who forcibly violated the chaſtity of a woman, was to pay a fine of twelve cows to the king, and the cuſtomary fine to the lord; and if the woman was a virgin, he was then to pay to her her paraphernalia, and the greateſt dower that could be exacted by law, together with the mulct uſually paid for violated chaſtity.[1] If either a man or a woman were accuſed of adultery, and denied the charge, the party accuſed

[1] The ſeveral particulars, for which the author is indebted to the laws of Howel, are here inſerted from the text and Latin tranſlation of that curious code publiſhed by Dr. Wotton, folio, London. Ann. Dom. 1730. The author ſubjoins no references to the chapters or pages of that work; which is the only edition of the Welſh laws, becauſe the copious and accurate index annexed to it, will be a ready direction to the reader, who is deſirous of enquiring more particularly into the ſubject.

might

might prove his innocence by the oaths of fifty perſons of the ſame ſex, who were neither ſlaves, captives, nor aliens.

Perjury was puniſhed by the payment of a mulct of three cows to the king.

Whoever bailed a criminal, and did not produce him at the time of his legal appearance, was obnoxious to all the penalties to which the criminal himſelf was liable.

The ſole object of the law concerning the maiming of animals, was complete reſtitution to the owner; no other penalty being annexed to it.

ON the death of Howel Dha, the late ſovereign of the united principalities of Wales, Jevaf and Jago, the ſecond and third ſons of Edwal Voel, ſetting aſide from the ſucceſſion their elder brother Meyric, aſſumed the government of North Wales.[1] To revenge on the ſons of Howel Dha the injuries which theſe princes had received from the father, they invaded South Wales with a powerful army, laying claim to its ſovereignty as the elder branch of the Cynethian line; and though they met with a ſpirited oppoſition on the Carno mountains, they gained a complete victory.[2]

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 59, 60. [2] Ibid.

The

The year following, having renewed hoftilities, the fame princes again invaded South Wales, and defolated by two fucceffive inroads the country of Dyvet. The fons of Howel Dha, then, collecting their utmoft force, laid wafte, in their turn, the territory of North Wales as far as the river Conway. To check this invafion, the two princes Jevaf and Jago, oppofed them at Llanrwft in Denbighfhire; where, after an obftinate battle, in which many on each fide of confiderable rank were flain, fortune decided as before in their favour; and purfuing their enemies into South Wales, they deftroyed the country of Cardigan with fire and fword.[1] At length, the fons of Howel Dha, with a kind of retaliative juftice, were obliged to fubmit to the power of Jevaf and Jago; and in confequence of this fuperiority, thefe princes remained for fome years the entire fovereigns of Wales.[2] Ambition and the love of power univerfally prevail, and in the conqueft of barren mountains infpire an ardour, like that with which Alexander contended for the fovereignty of the world.

Ann. Dom. 952.

Ann. Dom. 958.

DURING this ufurpation, and probably elated with the fuccefs of their arms, the kings of North Wales had neglected to pay the tribute which was due to the crown of England, agreeably to the impolitic inftitution of Roderic the Great, and the more recent, but no lefs imprudent regulation in

[1] Welfh Chron. p. 60, 61. [2] Ibid.

the

the laws of Howel Dha. To preserve such an ornament to his crown, and a badge of subordination so flattering to his pride, Edgar, the king of England, invaded North Wales, and as he marched through the country spread around the usual devastations. Ann. Dom. 961. At length, being acquainted with the injuries both countries had received from the wolves, which then abounded in North Wales, and destroyed sheep and other cattle; he remitted, with some degree of liberality, the ancient tribute, and only exacted the yearly payment of the heads of three hundred of those animals.[a] This demand, so singular in its nature, was paid by the Welsh princes during three or four years; after that time, the wolves being nearly extirpated, this country, agreeably to the liberal design of Edgar, ought to have been released from the payment of any future tribute.[b] Soon after this event, the Irish made a descent on the isle of Anglesey, destroyed the palace at Aberffraw, and slew Roderic the youngest son of Edwal Voel.[c]

Ann. Dom. 966.

The union, so long subsisting between the princes of North Wales in a joint administration of twenty years, was at this period fatally dissolved; an event soon followed

[a] Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Printed at London, Ann. Dom. 1614. Fabian's Chron. p. 249.

[b] W. Malmsbury, p. 59. Fabian, p. 249. Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Welsh Chron. p. 62. excepting only the number.

[c] Welsh Chron. p. 62.

by

by a ſeries of crimes, the conſequences of a divided ſovereignty, and of boſom friendſhip ſoured into deadly hate.[d]

Soon after this diſunion, by force of arms, Jago ſeiſed the perſon of his brother Jevaf, and conſigned him to a tedious impriſonment; and Eineon, the ſon of Owen, prince of South Wales, availing himſelf of theſe domeſtic feuds, annexed to his father's dominions the territory of Gwyr, in Glamorganſhire.[e] To add ſtill more to the diſtreſſes of the country, the Danes landed in Angleſey, and laid waſte the diſtrict about Penmon; and ſoon after, Ann. Dom. 969.
in another enterpriſe, they gained for a time the poſſeſſion of that iſland.[f]

These commotions having ſubſided, Howel, the ſon of Jevaf the captive prince, raiſed an army to deliver his father out of priſon, and to take vengeance on his uncle for the late outrage againſt natural affection and juſtice. Under the maſk of filial piety, which, however, covered the moſt fatal ambition, Howel ſucceeded in his enterpriſe, Ann. Dom. 972.
having defeated the forces of Jago, and obliged him to abandon his territories. He likewiſe took priſoner in the action, Meyric, his eldeſt uncle, and to render him incapable of obſtructing his deſigns he put out his eyes; a ſpecies

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 62. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid.

of barbarity common in that age; and in this miserable condition suffered him to languish in prison. Within a little time after his captivity this prince fortunately died, and left two sons Edwal and Jonafal. After these events, Howel, having proceeded so far in the progress of ambition, and being too much enamoured of power to relinquish it easily, deposed his father, though he released him from the horrors of a tedious imprisonment.[a]

Under colour of revenging the injuries of his father, Howel, by acts of the deepest injustice and cruelty, at length attained the sovereignty of North Wales.[b]

Ann. Dom. 973.

It was an evil, peculiarly fatal to the independency of Wales, and produced by its civil dissentions, that the weaker party usually fled for protection to the kings of England, and engaged in their interests with all that energy, which arises from a sense of injury, or is natural to men who have much to hope from the confusion of a state, or to fear from its justice.

Soon after the defeat of Jago, that prince retired into England, and easily engaged Edgar to re-instate him upon the throne; who being desirous of fomenting the divisions of the Welsh, or of giving them a sovereign subservient to his will, immediately entered Wales with an army, and

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 62, 63. [b] Ibid. p. 64.

advanced

advanced as far as Bangor. At that place, Howel, unable to oppofe fo great a force, was obliged to accede to the demand of the Englifh prince, of allowing an equal fhare in the fovereignty to his uncle Jago. In confequence of the afcendency which Edgar had gained, he founded a new church at Bangor, on the fouth fide of the cathedral, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary; and affuming a fovereign authority, he confirmed the ancient privileges of that See, and endowed it with lands and other gifts.[a] He then obliged Jevaf and his nephew Howel to accompany him to Chefter; where, agreeably to his direction, he was met by fix other princes; who, all of them, with great folemnity did him homage, and took the cuftomary oaths of fealty as to their lord paramount. After this ceremony was finifhed, Edgar, attended by great numbers of the nobility, feated himfelf at the helm of his barge; and as a farther mark of fubordination, commanded thefe eight independent princes to row him up the Dee, from his palace to the church of St. John the Baptift; whence he returned in the fame ftate, after divine fervice was ended.[b] This inftance of feudal arrogance, fo difgraceful to regal dignity, marked a faftidious fpirit in the Englifh king, and a degree of barbarifm ftill remaining in the Saxon manners.

[a] Wynne's Hift. Wales, p. 59.

[b] Selden's Mare Claufum, p. 1315. Brompton's Chron. p. 869. Math. Weftm. p. 287.

At this period, Dunwallon, the prince of Stradclwyd, intimidated by the cruel ravages of the Danes, or influenced by the pious ſpirit of that age, retired to Rome, and engaged in a religious life:[a] after his retreat, that ſmall ſtate was annexed to the principality of North Wales.[b]

Ann. Dom. 976.

Eineon, the ſon of Owen prince of South Wales, made a ſecond inroad into the country of Gwyr; and having laid waſte that territory, returned home. This affront would have been ſeverely reſented by Howel, the king of North Wales, if his arms at this time had not been directed againſt his uncle Jago, who was in open hoſtilities againſt him. With an army conſiſting of Engliſh and Welſh, Howel purſued the friends of that prince to the extremity of Wales, and at length took him priſoner; exhibiting an inſtance of generoſity very inconſiſtent with himſelf, by allowing his uncle Jago to enjoy, during life, his portion of territory.[c] But ſo capricious was this tyrant in his ideas of policy or in his feelings of humanity, that ſoon after this event, he cauſed his uncle Edwal Vychan to be murdered, without any apparent cauſe, except what aroſe from the ſuggeſtions of jealouſy or from a conſciouſneſs of guilt. This murder, inſtead of giving tranquillity to Howel, produced freſh cauſes of fear, and a new object of terror ſprung from the Hydra's head.

[a] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69. Welſh Chron. p. 65.

[b] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32. [c] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 60.

Fired

Fired with the deepeſt reſentment, and with the hopes of diſpoſſeſſing him of the crown, Cyſtenyn Dhu, or Conſtantine the Black, (the ſon of Jago, who at this time was a priſoner to his nephew) collected an army of Danes; and, to revenge the injuries his family had received, invaded North Wales, and laid waſte the iſland of Angleſey. But, Howel, who was not deficient in bravery though deſtitute of other virtues, collected his forces, and gave the Danes a ſignal defeat in a battle fought at Gwaith Hirbarth, in which young Conſtantine his couſin was ſlain.[a] Ann. Dom. 979.

The Danes, mortified with the diſgrace their arms had received, renewed hoſtilities; and invading South Wales, deſolated the lands of Dyfed, with the church of St. David's; but having fought the celebrated battle of Llanwanoc, in which the Welſh army was probably commanded by prince Eineon, they were forced to retire out of the country.[b] The next year duke Alfred, with a large body of Engliſh, invaded South Wales. After he had deſtroyed the town of Brecknock, he was encountered by the united forces of the Welſh, under the command of Howel, king of North Wales, and Eineon the ſon of Owen, prince of South Wales: in this battle the Mercian prince was defeated, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.[c] Ann. Dom. 981.

[a] Welſh Chron. p. 65. [b] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 61.
[c] Welſh Chron. p. 66.

This

This occaſional junction of the Welſh princes, and the proſperous exertion of their force, might have taught them the ſalutary effects produced by union, and the expediency of conſolidating the national ſtrength, inſtead of weakening their ſeparate powers in civil diſſentions, or by ambitious deſigns againſt each other.

Ann. Dom. 983. A COMMOTION having ariſen among the inhabitants of Gwent, in Monmouthſhire, who were aiming at independency, Owen, the prince of South Wales, ſent his ſon Eineon to endeavour by perſuaſion to reduce them to obedience; but that gallant youth found a raging multitude as little capable of reaſon or pity as the ſtormy ocean; and regarding him as the heir to the crown, and conſequently as the object of their fear and indignation, they ſuddenly tore him in pieces. Thus periſhed, by an ignoble fate, a young prince, whoſe military talents and other virtues, had for ſome time ſupported the cauſe of his country. He left two ſons, Edwyn and Tewdwr Mawr, from whoſe loins have deſcended ſeveral of the princes of South Wales.[a]

DURING this tranſaction, Howel, king of North Wales, availing himſelf of the leiſure the late commotion had given him, increaſed his army; and the next year marched into England, to retaliate on that country the devaſtations which

[a] Welſh Chron. p. 66.

this

the incurfions of the Englifh had brought upon Wales. In this expedition he was flain,[a] fighting againft the enemies of his country with a gallantry of fpirit worthy the juftice of his caufe, but little fuited to the tenor of his life, which has marked him to pofterity as a favage and ruthlefs tyrant. Ann. Dom. 984.

A little before this period, terms of agreement were entered into by the legiflatures of England and Wales, for fecuring the peace of the borders, which might feem to put the two countries on an equal footing of independency.[b]

The late prince dying without iffue, his brother Cadwalhon, the fecond fon of Jevaf, took upon him the fovereignty of North Wales, fetting afide the rightful fucceffion of Edwal and Jonaval, the fons of Meyric his eldeft uncle. After this act of injuftice, to fix himfelf more fecurely upon the throne, he determined on the deftruction of his coufins; a practice very common with ufurpers, who, befides the ufual incitements of ambition, are urged to that barbarous policy by the principle of felf-prefervation. Jonaval, the eldeft of thefe princes, fell into his hands, and was privately murdered; but Edwal had the good fortune to

[a] Welfh Chron. p. 66.

[b] Saxon laws publifhed by Wilkins, p. 125. from lord Lyttelton's life, Henry II. vol. II. p. 39. It appears that, during the reign of Howel Dha, this prince had difpoffeffed Morgan Hen, the lord of Glamorgan, of certain diftricts in that country, and that this difpute was tried by Edgar, king of England, in a full court of the prelates and nobility both of England and Wales, when the lands in difpute were adjudged to Morgan Hen, and his heirs. Spelman's Concilia, p. 414.

make

make his escape, and to see deserved chastisement fall on the heads of those, whose injustice and cruelty had brought such calamities on his family. For Cadwalhon had only been in possession of the government one year, and his hands were scarcely cold from the blood of his kinsman, when Meredith, the son of Owen, prince of South Wales, invaded his dominions, and slew that usurper with his brother Meyric.[a]

Ann. Dom. 985.

In consequence of his victory, Meredith, who ruled in Powis by right of his mother, took possession of the kingdom of North Wales.[b] But the Danes invading Anglesey some time after this event, and having taken Lhywarch his brother prisoner, with two thousand of his men, they with great cruelty put out his eyes. Meredith, shocked at this disaster, and terrified by the fate of his brother, fled into his own country, leaving his new subjects exposed to the ravages of the Danes: and, to heighten their calamities, without a sovereign or probably without any regular police, a distemper fell on their cattle, which raged with so much fury, as to leave very few remaining in the country.[c]

Ann. Dom. 986.

At this time, Jevaf, the son of Edwal Voel died, closing the evening of his days in peace and retirement, after he

Ann. Dom. 987.

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 67.

[b] British Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 14.

[c] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 65.

had

had ſpent the greater part of his life in action, and amidſt the ſtorms of ambition.[a]

This event was ſoon followed by the death of Owen, the ſon of Hoel Dha, and prince of South Wales.[b] Upon his deceaſe, Meredith his youngeſt ſon, diſregarding the rights of his two nephews the ſons of Eineon his elder brother, aſſumed the reins of government; agreeably to the licentious ſpirit of the times, and the irregular courſe of ſucceſſion.[c] In the beginning of his reign, the Danes invaded South Wales, laid waſte the country, and deſtroyed, with a marked animoſity, the churches of St. David's, Llanbadarn, and other religious places. Unable to check their devaſtations, Meredith agreed to pay them, on condition of their leaving the country, one penny for every perſon within his dominions.[d] But this tribute,[e] ſo deluſive and diſhonourable, and ſo miſerable a ſubſtitute for valour and exertion, was never paid, it may be recorded to their honour, by any of the princes of North Wales. Soon after this event, Edwyn, the nephew of Meredith, and eldeſt ſon of Eineon the right heir to the principality of South Wales, having engaged in his intereſt the Saxons and Danes, overran that country with a great army, and obliged the principal lords to acknowledge his ſovereignty, and to give him

Ann. Dom. 988.

[a] Welſh Chron. p. 70. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid.

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 71. [e] It was called Glwmaen the tribute of the black army.

 hoſtages

Ann. Dom. 990. hostages for their future fidelity. To retaliate upon Edwyn this invasion, Meredith laid waste the lands subject to the authority of his rival; but on a sudden, when the flames of civil war had desolated the country and had produced a
Ann. Dom. 991. famine, an accommodation took place. The death of the only son of Meredith, which happened soon after, cemented more closely the union of these princes.[f]

During this contest, North Wales had been left without a sovereign, exposed to the ravages of every invader; and in consequence the Danes landed again in Anglesey, and laid waste the whole island. On this emergency, but not on the desertion of Meredith, a caprice only to be accounted for
Ann. Dom. 992. from the singular levity of the times, the people placed Edwal, the son of Meyric, the right heir, in the sovereignty of North Wales; the lineal succession having been set aside by the late usurpations.[g]

On the accession of this prince, he began to regulate the affairs of his kingdom, and to place his subjects in such a posture of defence, as might secure them from the incursions of the Danes, or of other invaders; and he soon experienced the salutary effects of such a wise and spirited conduct.[h] For, Meredith, unwilling that his new dominions should be so easily torn from him, invaded North Wales with a

f Welsh Chron. p. 71. g Ibid. h Ibid. p. 72.

powerful

powerful army; and having advanced as far as Llangwm, in Denbighſhire, he was there met by Edwal, and entirely defeated; loſing in the action his nephew Tewdwr Mawr, the younger ſon of the late prince Eineon.[i] The proſperity of Edwal was of ſhort duration. He had ſcarcely returned home, elated with ſucceſs, and exulting in the hope of enjoying his dominions in peace, when Swane, a Daniſh chieftain, landed in North Wales. Edwal, diſdaining to purchaſe an uncertain tranquillity at the expence of his honour, determined to expel the Danes by force of arms, or to periſh in the enterpriſe. In this gallant attempt he was ſlain, leaving an only ſon called Jago.[k] Ann. Dom. 993.

Soon after this event, the Danes ravaged again the city of St David's, ſlew the biſhop of that dioceſe, and meeting with no reſiſtance, laid waſte with fire and ſword the adjacent territory. Meredith, unable to give a check to their ravages, and perhaps aſhamed of his late timid and unavailing policy, ſunk under the calamities of his country, and died of grief; leaving only a daughter named Angharad, married to Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, and after his death to Cynfyn Hirdref. By each of theſe huſbands ſhe had children, whoſe different claims occaſioned great civil commotions in Wales.[l] Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, by right of his wife, ſucceeded to the principality of South Wales.[m] Ann. Dom 998.

[i] Welſh Chron. p. 72.
[k] Ibid. p. 73.
[l] Ibid.
[m] Ibid. p. 83.

This part of the hiftory of Wales is only a recital of reciprocal inroads and injuries, a feries of objects unvaried and of little importance, which pafs the eye in a fucceffion of cold delineations, like the evanefcent figures produced by the *camera obfcura*. The characters and events are not brought diftinctly into view, nor fufficiently explained, to enable the hiftorian to judge of their proportions, their beauty, or defects; whence he can neither develope the principles of action, nor trace the connection of caufes with effects, by leading incidents, or the general fprings which direct human affairs. In purfuing this detail, there is therefore danger left the reader, whofe eye has been accuftomed to more brilliant fcenes, fhould turn away in difguft from a field, fo fterile in itfelf, and which yields fo little to the arts of cultivation.

Jago, the fon of Edwal, being fet afide in the fucceffion on account of his tender years, feveral competitors arofe; and in confequence North Wales exhibited for many years a fcene of the utmoft confufion. The moft eminent of thefe rivals were Cynan, the fon of Howel, defceneded from the royal line, and a chieftain of the name of Ædan ap Blegored, who founded his pretenfions to the crown folely on his ambition and valour. Two rival chiefs, of warlike and irafcible manners, are feldom difpofed to adjuft their claims by the flow procedures of negotiation or policy, but refer them to the more prompt decifion of the fword, the chief

chief arbitrator of rights in theſe turbulent ages. In a battle which immediately enſued Cynan was ſlain, and in consequence Ædan ap Blegored was proclaimed ſovereign of North Wales. Ann. Dom. 1003.

Having aſſumed the government, no remarkable incident happened for twelve years, till the prince of South Wales invading Ædan's dominions, diſpoſſeſſed him of his royalty and life. His four ſons were alſo ſlain in the battle which Llewelyn fought with the uſurper.[n]

In conſequence of his victory, Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt diſregarding the rights of Jago, the ſon of Edwal, took upon him the government of North Wales; annexing that dignity to the two other principalities. This prince, maternally deſcended from the royal blood of Wales, had ſome colourable pretence for his ambition; his mother Trawſt being the daughter of Eliſe, the ſecond ſon Anarawd, who was the eldeſt ſon of Roderic the Great.[o] Ann. Dom. 1015.

The wiſe adminiſtration of Llewelyn ſoon produced national proſperity. To expreſs the felicity of his reign, contraſted with the preceding times, we are told "the "earth brought forth double, the people proſpered in all

[n] Welſh Chron. p. 74.

[o] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 14. Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 79.

their

"their affairs, and multiplied wonderfully; the cattle in-"creased in great numbers; so that there was not a poor "man in Wales, from the south to the north sea; but every "man had plenty, every house a dweller, and every town "inhabitants."[p] The slight touches which history has given of the character of Llewelyn, present him in an amiable point of view. His talents for war and command, his love of order and of justice, which had enabled him so early to diffuse happiness among his subjects, ought to have rendered him the object of their warmest affections. But so little civilized, so turbulent were the Welsh, delighting more in war than in the habits of cultivated life, that they treated with coldness and ingratitude a sovereign, whose qualities, in a milder period, would have rendered him the object of veneration.

Ann. Dom. 1019.

The first appearance of disaffection broke out in the rebellion of Meyric, a chieftain of eminence, but was easily checked by Llewelyn, who slew the traitor with his own hands, and defeated his forces.[q] So alienated from their loyalty were the people of South Wales, that they engaged a Scotsman of mean birth to be the instrument of their design, imposing him on the world as the son of their late prince Meredith; and the nobility immediately proclaimed him their soverign by the name of Rhun.[r] The annals of

Ann. Dom. 1020.

[p] Welsh Chron. p. 84.

[q] Welsh Chron. p. 85. [r] Ibid.

these

these times do not explain the motives of this extraordinary procedure, nor are we able from such a chaos to throw any light upon the causes of the revolt; except from the resentment his subjects there might feel, because Llewelyn, having been many years their sovereign, had for some time taken up his residence in North Wales. As soon as that prince had intelligence of the rebellion, he collected his forces, and instantly marched into South Wales, to check the evil at the source; and having advanced to Abergwili in Caermarthenshire, he there found the whole power of the country, waiting his approach, under the command of the impostor. Just as both armies were going to engage, Rhun encouraged his soldiers by a confident assurance of victory; after which he privately retired out of the battle. While Llewelyn, boldly confronting the danger, at the head of his troops led them into the charge, calling aloud upon the impostor, whose cowardice so little justified the character he had assumed. This battle was bloody, and disputed on each side with great spirit; for strange as it may appear, the rebels fought, with a determined bravery, for a despicable coward and an idol of their own raising; while the other side were scarcely animated in the cause of their sovereign, a native of their country, and of such incomparable merit. At length, the troops of Llewelyn, fired with the extraordinary valour of their prince, and ashamed to be defeated by men over whom they had been often victorious, made a vigorous effort, which put the enemy

to

to flight, and purſuing Rhun, notwithſtanding the addreſs he had made uſe of to ſave his life, he was overtaken and ſlain. Having thus happily ended the rebellion, Llewelyn returned into North Wales loaded with valuable ſpoils.[s]

The ſmall remainder of his days this prince paſſed in tranquillity; but his great and amiable qualities could not exempt him from the deſtiny which uſually attended the princes of Wales. For Howel and Meredith, the ſons of Ed-
Ann. Dom. 1021. wyn ap Eineon ap Owen[t] ap Howel Dha, whoſe family for ſome years had been ſet aſide in the ſucceſſion of South Wales, engaged in a conſpiracy againſt Llewelyn; and either by their emiſſaries, or with their own hands, aſſaſſinated this prince. He left only one ſon of the name of Gryffryth.[u] This prince built the caſtle of Rhuddlan, in which palace he uſually reſided; and which afterwards continued to be the royal reſidence during the life of his ſon.[w]

The principle of evil which eventually deſtroyed the Britiſh empire, ſtill remained in the political conſtitution and national character of the Welſh, preying, like a worm at the root, on the vital powers of the ſtate, and by uniform

[s] Welſh Chron. p. 85, 86.

[t] The word *ap* which ſo frequently occurs in Welſh names, ſignifies a *ſon*.

[u] Welſh Chron. p. 85, 86.

[w] Dr. Powel's Notes on Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. Cambræ, Cap. X. p. 213. Cambden's Brit. p. 687.

and

and ſlow degrees working its decline and dſſolution. Beſides other cauſes of national decay, there was one, which, though a ſtriking defect in their anceſtors, was not inherent in their own government or manners; and that was, except in a ſingle inſtance, a total inattention to their naval power, although its utility was apparent from their maritime ſituation, and the late example of Alfred. That a prince, like Llewelyn, of ability and vigour, and not wanting inattention to the common weal, ſhould have neglected ſuch an obvious mode of defence, is a proof that either his genius or reſources were limited.

The odium naturally excited by the murder of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, precluded Howel and Meredith from any chance of attaining to the ſovereignty of North Wales; and afforded Jago the ſon of Edwal ap Meiric, whoſe title had ſunk under the popularity or vigour of the late prince, a favourable opportunity of taking poſſeſſion of the crown; from which his family, lineally deſcended from Roderic, had long been unjuſtly excluded.[x] Ann. Dom. 1021.

At the ſame time, Rhytherch, the ſon Jeſtyn, by force of arms had aſſumed the government of South Wales. The two brothers Howel and Meredith, diſappointed in their views upon one principality, and excluded their rightful

[x] Welſh Chron. p. 87, 88.

succeſſion in the other, were forced, through mere inability, to remain for ſome years in quiet; but having engaged in their ſervice a body of Iriſh Scots, they defeated and ſlew the uſurper; and in their joint names took upon them the government of South Wales. Immediately on their father's death, the ſons of Rhytherch collected their forces; but after a ſevere battle fought at Hyarthwy, with the princes of South Wales, they were defeated and put to flight.[y] Theſe victories might have ſecured to Howel and Meredith, the poſſeſſion of their dominions, if the ſpirit of revenge, kept alive in that age by every incitement which can influence the paſſions, had not retaliated on theſe princes the murder of Llewelyn; for the nephews of that prince engaged in a conſpiracy againſt them, aſſaſſinated Meredith,[z] and forced the other brother into exile.[a] The feelings of humanity are wounded at the recital of ſuch horrid barbarities, and we haſten with pleaſure to a period, when the virtue of a few individuals influenced the tide of affairs, and turned them from the loweſt ebb of weakneſs and miſery, to a flow of national proſperity.

Ann. Dom. 1031.

Ann. Dom. 1032.

By this time, Gryffydh the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, had attained to the age of manhood; and, already weary of waſting his active ſpirit in the ſhade of retirement, he re-

[y] Welſh Chron. p. 87, 88. [z] Ibid. p. 88.

[a] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 85.

ſolved

ſolved to employ it in the glorious attempt of recovering his father's throne. As ſoon as the reſolution was known, his youth and activity, the popular memory of his father, with the pleaſing and flattering proſpect of novelty, united the public voice in his favour. But Jago, the reigning prince, not of a ſpirit to relinquiſh eaſily the charms of royalty and his indubitable right, collecting all the force he was able, attempted with great courage to oppoſe the popular current; his army, however, was defeated, and he himſelf ſlain in the action, leaving an only ſon named Cynan.[b] Ann. Dom. 1037.

Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when the united forces of the Engliſh and Danes entered Wales, and the young prince met them at Crosford upon the Severn; where, having given them an entire defeat, he forced them to fly into their own country.[c] Elated with ſucceſs, he proceeded thence into South Wales, and marching through that principality, received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants, having, a ſecond time, driven Howel, the ſurviving brother, out of his dominions. But that prince, retiring to Edwyn, the brother of Leofric duke of Mercia, raiſed by his means an army of Engliſh and Danes, with which he marched into Wales againſt Gryffydh. Fortune, however, continuing favourable, that

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 89. [c] Ibid. 90.

prince overthrew the foreigners, slew Edwyn, and again forced Howel to a precipitate flight.[d] Soon after this victory, Gryffydh returned into North Wales.[e]

Ann. Dom. 1038. The prince of South Wales, having reinforced his army, made another attempt to recover his dominions; and too sanguine of success, he brought his wife into the field, to share in the triumphs of a victory he was in full expectation of obtaining.[f] As soon as Gryffydh received intelligence of this event, he marched with great celerity into South Wales; and meeting Howel at Pencadair in Caermarthenshire, he there gave him battle, and entirely defeated his army. The unhappy prince escaped with difficulty; and, to render his fate more deplorable, his wife was taken prisoner, and fell into the hands of his rival; who, on seeing that princess, was so struck with her beauty, that he detained her as his concubine.[g] In times less savage than these, such an action, measured by civilized ideas of heroism, incapable of offering violence to weakness, or of insulting the feelings of a vanquished enemy, would have been received with general abhorrence. But it does not appear, that Gryffydh lost any reputation with his subjects; the Welsh (as Lord Lyttelton expresses it) regarding whatever was taken in war, even the wives of the vanquished, as the lawful property of the conqueror. So great is the force of habit on the

[d] Welsh Chron. p. 91. [e] Ibid.
[f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

human

human mind, to counteract the firſt and the nobleſt principles of nature and religion.

The prince of South Wales, ſtung with the keen reſentment which ſuch injuries would naturally excite, having raiſed an army of Engliſh and Danes, came the third time into South Wales, in hopes of revenging the late inſult upon his honour, and by another brave effort to recover his wife and his crown. He had not been there long before a large body of foreigners landed in the country, who, ſpreading themſelves abroad, committed great depradations. Howel, though deſirous of reſerving his ſtrength for the main conteſt with the king of North Wales, could not be indifferent to their ravages; but with much gallantry of ſpirit, and an honeſt deſire of conciliating the affections of the Welſh, he ſuddenly attacked the foreigners, and forced them with great loſs to retire to their ſhips.[h] Ann. Dom. 1041.

In the courſe of theſe events the attention of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn had been engaged in an affair of ſome importance. For Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, who on his father's death had fled into Ireland for ſafety, having engaged in his intereſt the king of Dublin, whoſe daughter he had married, landed in North Wales; and either by a ſtratagem of his own, or by other means, contrived to take

[h] Welſh Chron. p. 92.

Gryffydh

Gryffydh prisoner. But the Welsh, being instantly apprised of the disaster, and anxious for the safety of their prince, suddenly overtook the Irish, recovered him out of their hands, and pursuing them with great slaughter to their ships, obliged them to return into Ireland.[i]

At length, Howel, the prince of South Wales, by the assistance of the Danes, and of those friends who still adhered to his fortunes, raised such a force as might enable him to make head against Gryffydh; of which as soon as that prince had intelligence, that his own country might not be the seat of war, he instantly marched into South Wales; and defeating the forces of his rival, pursued them to the source of the Towy, a river in Caermarthenshire; where, another action more bloody than the former ensued; in which Howel was slain, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.[k] Thus was the full measure of vengeance poured on the heads of Howel and his family, for the murder they had lately committed on Llewelyn ap Seisyllt.

Ann. Dom. 1042.

Immediately on the death of Howel, new competitors arose to dispute with Gryffydh the sovereignty of South Wales. These were the sons of Rhytherch ap Jestyn, who asserted their right to the principality, because their father for a little time had enjoyed the government. Gryffydh

[i] Welsh Chron. p. 93. [k] Ibid. p. 92.

opposed

opposed their pretentions with his usual activity and vigour, but not with the same decisive good fortune; for after a bloody and obstinate engagement which lasted till night, both armies, equally fatigued and unwilling to renew the combat, returned to their respective countries in order to collect reinforcements.[1] After this event, excepting a slight insurrection which was easily repelled, the two states enjoyed for a time under the dominion of Gryffydh, from causes not accounted for in the Welsh Annals, a season of unaccustomed tranquillity.

Very probably, it was during this interval of peace, that Gryffydh established some kind of a navy; by procuring (according to Lord Lyttelton) a few ships of war from some foreign country, which were manned by foreign sailors. We are unacquainted with the motives which induced him to an undertaking so novel to the Welsh, though probably it arose from the obvious design of securing from ravages the maritime parts of his dominions, and of importing corn and other provision from foreign markets.

At this time, Cynan the son of Jago ap Edwal, having remained quiet in Ireland, since his late fruitless attempt, collected a body of troops among his Irish adherents, with a Ann. Dom. 1050.

[1] Welsh Chron. p. 92.

view

view to recover, if possible, his inheritance; but approaching the coast of North Wales, there suddenly arose a violent storm, which dispersed or destroyed his fleet, in such a manner as to render the expedition ineffectual.[m]

This interval of peace little suited the warlike spirit of Gryffydh, who at this time made an inroad into the marches about Hereford, and was opposed by the English, and the Norman garrison of that castle; but the Welsh prince obtained the victory, and returned home loaded with the spoils of the country.[n]

Ann. Dom. 1052.

Rhys, the brother of Gryffydh the king of Wales, a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, having committed frequent depredations on the English marches, had become, on that account, the object of particular resentment. Being defeated and taken prisoner in an incursion he had made on the borders, he was put to death at Bulundune, by the command of king Edward the Confessor, (who in this instance assumed a sovereign authority) and his head was sent to that prince, who then kept his court at Gloucester.[o]

Ann. Dom. 1053.

Gryffyth, the son of Rytherch ap Jestyn, having recovered from the blow which he had formerly received, at this time raised an army, to endeavour once again to wrest

[m] Welsh Chron. p. 94. [n] Stowe, p. 96. Roger Hovedon, p. 442.

[o] Sincon Dunelme sub. Ann. 1053. Stowe's Chron. p. 97. Math. Westm. p. 323. Histor. Angl.

the

the principality of South Wales from Gryffyth, the king of North Wales; but the activity of this prince defeated his design; for he instantly marched against him, and easily routed his forces, and his competitor was slain in the action.[p] Ann. Dom. 1054.

An incident which happened soon after enabled Gryffydh to revenge, effectually, his brother's death, and the insult offered to the independency of his crown.

Algar, earl of Chester, having been banished from England by Edward the Confessor on slight suspicion, or on no grounds of offence, retired into Ireland; where engaging in his service eighteen vessels, he landed in North Wales, and put himself under the protection of Gryffydh. These two leaders, acting in conjunction with each other, ravaged the borders of England; and actuated with the same spirit of vengeance, proceeded into Herefordshire, and laid waste that fertile country with fire and sword. Ann. Dom. 1055. To oppose this dangerous inroad, Ranulph, earl of Hereford, raised an army composed of English and a body of Norman troops; with this force he met the confederates advancing within two miles of Hereford, and offered them battle. Gryffydh, accepted the challenge, with all that confidence which long success naturally inspires. The earl had ordered the English to fight on horseback, contrary to the custom of their nation; but being ready to begin the onset, that nobleman, and

p Welsh Chron. p. 98.

the Norman troops which he himſelf commanded, inſtantly fled; daunted, perhaps, by the appearance of the Welſh, or not able to ſtand the ſhock of their furious charge. The Engliſh ſoon followed the example of their leader; and the Welſh, purſuing them with great ſlaughter (four or five hundred being ſlain) entered into Hereford, burned the minſter, and ſlew ſeven of the canons who raſhly attempted to defend it: they then levelled the walls, ſet the city on fire, and putting to death many perſons of note, and carrying others into captivity, returned home, loaded with much valuable ſpoil.[q]

THE pacific ſpirit of Edward was rouſed by this formidable invaſion, and he commanded Harold, the ſon of earl Godwin, inſtantly to collect forces from every part of the kingdom, which were to aſſemble at Glouceſter. At the head of this army that general marched into North Wales, and advancing through the vale of Clwyd,[r] without any reſiſtance, as far as the Snowdun mountains,[s] he lay there encamped, expecting the approach of the enemy. At this juncture, unable to oppoſe the Engliſh forces, Gryffydh, and the earl of Cheſter, retired into South Wales. As ſoon as Harold was informed of their retreat, he returned back to Hereford, leaving however the greater part of his army to keep the country in awe. He rebuilt the walls of that

[q] Saxon Chron. p. 169. Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Math. Weſtm. p. 324. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid.

city,

city, and added new fortifications to that frontier poſt; during which time he entered into a negotiation with Gryffydh, and at length concluded a peace not much to the honour of England; as Algar was indulged with a pardon, and the full enjoyment of his earldom, and no compenſation appears to have been made for the ravages, or the expence of the war.[t] As ſoon as the peace was concluded, that nobleman returned with his fleet to Cheſter, where the mariners and ſoldiers remained till they had received their pay.[u] Algar immediately repaired to the court of Edward, and obtained from that prince the confirmation of his pardon and dignity.[x] It is not eaſy to account for the conduct of Harold, in retreating ſo ſuddenly out of Wales, after having penetrated ſo far into the country, and in concluding ſo diſhonourable a peace with the Welſh, over whom his arms had gained an unuſual advantage.

The late eaſy victory obtained over the heavy armed troops of the Engliſh and Normans, added to the uſual incitements of plunder and national hatred, induced Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, in open violation of the peace, to make another inroad into Herefordſhire; in which the biſhop of that dioceſe,[y] was ſlain at Glaſtonbury, as well as the

[t] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Math. Weſtm. p. 324.

[u] Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Holinſhead's Engliſh Hiſt. p. 192.

[x] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Math. Weſtm. p. 324.

[y] Math. Weſtm. p. 325. Roger Hovedon, p. 144.

 viſcompte,

viscompte, or sheriff of the county, and many of the English also, both laymen and ecclesiastics.[z]

Notwithstanding the late outrge, through the mediation of Harold, and Leofrick, earl of Mercia, the peace was renewed between the two nations.[a]

A person in the situation of Algar, the earl of Chester, must hold the favour of his prince by a very precarious tenure, as the clemency of sovereigns is usually of uncertain duration when extorted by force or expediency. Lying again under the suspicion of treason, by the machinations, Ann. Dom. 1058. it is probable, of his enemies, he was a second time banished the realm, and sought an asylum in the dominions of Gryffydh; by whose aid, and the assistance of a fleet from Norway, which accidentally arrived upon the coast, he was Ann. Dom. 1063. once more reinstated in his earldom.[b] Edward, justly incensed at the late barbarities and violation of good faith, and dreading, no doubt, the consequence if Wales should become the refuge of his malecontent subjects, determined to employ the whole force of his kingdom in the conquest of that country. He trusted the execution of this important design to Harold, the most eminent man in his court

[z] Simon Dunelme, p. 188.

[a] Simon Dunelme, p. 189. Roger Hovedon, p. 444.

[b] Ibid.

for valour and abilities.[c] This general, having raiſed a very conſiderable army, marched with ſuch celerity and conduct into North Wales, that he had nearly ſurpriſed Gryffydh in his palace at Rhudd-lan; and the Welſh prince, juſt appriſed of his danger a moment before the Engliſh preſented themſelves at the gates, as the only means of ſafety, threw himſelf, with ſome of his attendants, into one of his ſhips, at that time ready in the harbour, which inſtantly ſet ſail, and by that means fortunately made his eſcape.[d] The looſe annals of theſe times do not inform us to what country he retired in his diſtreſs.

Harold, mortified that the Welſh king ſhould eſcape ſo unexpectedly out of his hands, in reſentment burned his palace, and ſet on fire all the ſhips of war and the other veſſels remaining in the harbour of Rhudd-lan.[e] After this event he returned to Briſtol, and having fitted out a fleet, on a new plan of deciſive operation, he ſailed round all the coaſt of Wales;[f] preventing by this means, it is probable, the importation of corn and other proviſions.

In the mean time, a ſtrong body of horſe under the command of earl Toſti, the brother of Harold, marched, by the previous command of the Engliſh king, into North Wales;

[c] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Math. Weſt. p. 329.

[d] Ibid. [e] Ibid.

[f] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446.

Wales;[g] and as ſoon as the Engliſh general had intelligence of their arrival, he landed, and joined them with his infantry; leaving his fleet, with orders to cruize as before along the coaſt of Wales.[h] On the junction of theſe troops, Harold ſoon made himſelf maſter of the level country.[i] Being ſenſible, in ſuch a ſervice, of the unſuitableneſs of heavy armed ſoldiers, he provided his infantry with targets made of hides, and other lighter kinds of armour,[k] more fit for a mountainous region broken with rivers, defiles and foreſts. His cavalry he left on the plains under the command of his brother; excepting only a few horſe, which, ſupported by ſome troops of foot heavy armed, he ordered to follow as a body of reſerve. Then, marching himſelf at the head of his troops, he advanced into the mountainous parts of his country; and having driven the Welſh, with great ſlaughter, out of their inmoſt receſſes, he at length compelled them to ſue for peace.[l] Thus, by the united effects of vigour, activity and conduct, coinciding with other cauſes, did Harold ſubdue a people who had been hitherto invincible. In want of the animating preſence and ſpirited activity of their prince, without the means of concerting neceſſary meaſures of defence, and probably ſtraightened for proviſions, it is no wonder that the Welſh, ſurpriſed and

[g] Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Simon Dunelme, p. 192.
[h] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 47.
[i] Ibid. [k] Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 68. Gale's Script.
[l] Cambden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibſon's edition, from Giraldus Cambrenſis.

diſpirited,

dispirited, should sink under the impression of the English arms. On this occasion Harold set up several pillars of stone, on each of which was engraved this Latin inscription, *Hic Fuit Victor Haraldus,* to perpetuate the glory of having passed mountains hitherto the inaccessible barriers between the spirit of freedom and the rage of conquest.[m]

So totally subdued were the Welsh, that they submitted to the tribute which in ancient times they had usually paid, and gave hostages to Harold as pledges of their future obedience.[n] Under the impression of fear, or incensed at his late desertion, they, likewise, renounced allegiance to Gryffydh.[o]

Considering his active and warlike character, we can attribute the absence of Gryffydh at a time, when his own interests, and the perilous situation of his country required his presence to no other cause, than to the general disaffection of his subjects. Whatever were his motives of absence, whether the revolt of his subjects, or inability to return on account of the English fleet, this prince came into North Wales in the summer of the following year;[p] and as soon as he landed, he attempted to raise a vigorous Ann. Dom. 1064.

[m] Cambden's Britannia, p. 545. Gibson's edition, from Giraldus Cambrensis.

[n] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Math. Westm. p. 329.

[o] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Hist. Ingulphi. p. 68. Math. Westm. p. 329.

[p] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 48.

opposition

oppoſition againſt Harold, who, by the incitement of Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had invaded South Wales, and ſubdued a great part of that country.[q] Inſtead of rejoicing at his preſence, or eagerly ranging under his ſtandard, this gallant prince was put to death by his own ſubjects, at the inſtigation of Harold, during his march into South Wales to oppoſe that nobleman.[r] As the firſt fruits of their vaſſalage, they ſent his head to the Engliſh general, together with the prow of the ſhip in which he had returned.[s] Beſides two ſons, Meredith and Ithel, Gryffydh left a daughter called Nêſt, who was afterwards married to Trahaern ap Caradoc, prince of North Wales.[t]

THIS murder being perpetrated, Bleddyn and Rhywallon, the ſons of Cynvyn by Angharad, the mother of the late prince, were, by the appointment of king Edward, inveſted with the ſovereignty of North Wales and Powis.[u] At the ſame time, that prince gave the principality of South Wales to Meredith, the eldeſt ſon of Owen ap Edwyn.[x] Theſe princes were obliged to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, and to pay the full tribute, which ever had been paid to any of his predeceſſors.[y] A law, at this time, was

[q] Welſh Chron. p. 101 [r] Ibid. [s] Sim. Dunelme, p. 191.
[t] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 95, 101.
[u] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 94. Welſh Chron. p. 102.
[x] Welſh Chron. p. 102.
[y] Math. Weſtm. p. 329. Sim. Dunelme, p. 191. Chr. de Mailros, p. 159.

made

made by earl Harold, which enacts, that if any Welſhman, coming into England without licence, was taken on that ſide of Offa's dyke, his right hand ſhould be cut off by the king's officer. This ſtatute ſhews, that, ſo late as in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, this dyke was conſidered as the diſcriminating line between the two nations.[y]

In this manner died Gryffydh the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt whoſe princely qualities entitled him to a happier fate. His talents for government, and the vigour and proſperity of his arms, ſoon turned the tide of affairs, vindicated the honour of his kingdom, and gave it an unuſual importance: his amiable manners and abilities in war, made him equally the idol of his people and the terror of his enemies, and rendered a reign of thirty-four years unclouded by any adverſity; until the late ſtorm, which perhaps, was neither in his power to elude nor repel, in ſome meaſure ſhaded its glory, and deprived this excellent prince of his life, and his country of its freedom.

An incident happened in the courſe of this reign, which though not very ſtriking at firſt, at length aroſe into hiſtorical importance. Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, having cauſed Banquo to be murdered, of whoſe honour and influence he was jealous, his ſon Fleance, to avoid

[y] Cambden's Britann. p. 585. Gibſon's edit. Speed's Chron. p. 401.

 the

the tyranny of that usurper, fled into North Wales,[z] and was kindly received by Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, in whose court he was long entertained with the warmest affection. During this intercourse, he became enamoured of Nest, the daughter, or the sister of that prince, and violating the laws of hospitality and honour by an illicit connection with her, she was delivered of a son who was named Walter. In resentment of so foul an offence, Gryffydh immediately commanded Fleance to be put to death; and reduced his daughter to the lowest servile situation, for having suffered herself to be dishonoured by a stranger. As the youth, who was the fruit of this illicit connection, advanced in years, he became distinguished for his valour and an elevated mind. An angry dispute having arisen between him and one of his companions, the circumstance of his birth was mentioned by his antagonist in terms of reproach, which so irritated the fiery spirit of Walter, that he instantly killed him; and afraid of abiding the consequences of the murder, he fled into Scotland. On his arrival in that kingdom, he insinuated himself among the English, who were in the train of queen Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling.[a] Here he soon acquired a general esteem by his wisdom and good conduct; and his abilities unfolding as they were employed in the public service, he was appointed lord

[z] Buchannan Hist. Rer. Scot. p. 193.

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 98. Dr. Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambrensis Itinar. Cambræ, lib. I. cap. II. p. 88.

steward

ſteward of Scotland, and receiver of the revenues of the realm. From this office, he and his deſcendents have taken the ſurname of Stuart; and from this root have ſprung the royal houſe of that name, and many other branches of illuſtrious families in Scotland.[b]

As Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had been the cauſe of the late invaſion by Harold, he was in hopes of obtaining, on the death of the late prince, the government of South Wales. Inſtead of this, however, that nobleman baniſhed him the country, from a knowledge of his ſubtle and deceitful temper; and beſides, finding he could not obtain from him a lordſhip, which he was deſirous of poſſeſſing near Hereford, he cauſed Meredith, whom he had found more compliant to his will, to be inveſted as before related with the ſovereignty. On this lordſhip, Harold built a very ſplendid houſe, at Portaſkewith in Monmouthſhire;[c] and having frequently given an invitation to king Edward, who then reſided at Glouceſter, that prince at length paid him a viſit.

This mark of favour excited the envy of Toſti, the elder brother of Harold, which was highly inflamed a little time after by a trifling incident. Being at a feaſt with the king at Windſor, that prince ordered Harold to preſent him with

[b] Buchannan, p. 198. [c] Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

 a cup

a cup of wine; which preference had ſuch an effect on the paſſion and the pride of Toſti, that ſetting aſide every ſenſe of fear or decency, he inſtantly ſeiſed his brother, and dragged him to the ground by the hair of his head.[d] For this offence he was baniſhed the court.

After this outrage, retiring from court in great fury, he proceeded to Hereford, where Harold was preparing an entertainment for the king; he there murdered all his ſervants, and cutting of their heads, legs, arms, and other parts of their bodies, he put them into the veſſels of wine, metheglin, ale and beer, which were reſerved for the royal entertainment; he then ſent that prince a meſſage that there was no occaſion to provide any other than freſh proviſions, as he himſelf had taken care to leave a ſufficiency of preſerved and powdered meats.[e] For this ſecond offence he was baniſhed the realm for life.[f]

Immediately after this ſingular barbarity, Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, came to the ſame houſe at Portaſkewith; and to revenge upon Harold the diſappointment he had lately received, ſlew the labourers who were there at work, with all the people and ſervants belonging to that nobleman; and then defacing the ſtructure, he

[d] Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

[e] Math. Weſtm. p. 331. Welſh Chron. p. 104, 105. Simon Dunelme. p. 192. Cambden's Brit. p. 597.

[f] Ibid.

carried

carried away the materials, which, at a great expence, had been brought to ornament the building.[g]

At this time, William, duke of Normandy, mounted the throne of England, in consequence of the death of Harold, and of the decisive battle of Hastings. During the conquest of England by that prince, the Welsh remained inactive spectators of the scene before them, viewing it with the same indifference, as if it had been a struggle between two foreign nations. Indeed, it was not likely they should feel themselves interested in the prosperity of either side, knowing whatever was the event, that in their turn, they themselves might become the victims of the conquerors fury; and it was certainly right conduct, to suffer two people, from whose ambition they had every thing to fear, to weaken or to destroy each other by mutual hostilities. But it is strange, that the Welsh, during the favourable moments which this contest afforded, did not, by a spirited enterprise of some effect and importance, wipe away the late national dishonour; and by wise, united, and vigorous measures, attempt to recover the independence they had lost. Ann. Dom. 1066.

Notwithstanding the want of spirit and general inattention of the Welsh, Bleddyn and Rhywallon, the kings of North Wales, during the absence of William in Normandy, joined Edrick, earl of Mercia, in a desultory expedi-

[g] Ibid.

tion

tion on the borders, and laid waſte the country of Hereford as far as Wyebridge.[h]

These princes had juſt returned home, when Meredith and Ithel, the ſons of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, the late king of North Wales, appeared on the ſtage as competitors for the crown. The young princes, in ſupport of their rights, raiſed an army, and fought a ſevere battle with the reigning princes, at a place called Mechain in Montgomeryſhire. In this action, one of the rival princes on each ſide, Rhywallon and Ithel, was ſlain; and Meredith, after ſeeing his army defeated, was forced to fly for ſafety amidſt the inmoſt receſſes of the mountains. The openings into theſe were ſtrictly guarded by Bleddyn, which rendered his eſcape impoſſible; and the young prince miſerably periſhed by cold and hunger. This victory left Bleddyn ap Cynvyn ſole maſter of North Wales and Powis.[i]

Ann. Dom. 1068

Caradoc the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, not brooking his late diſappointment, raiſed a large body of Normans, and joining them with his own vaſſals out of the country of Gwent, ſuddenly attacked Meredith, prince of South Wales, on the banks of the river Rympyn; who being much inferior in point of ſtrength, his forces were eaſily routed,

[h] Simon Dunelme, p. 197. Welſh Chron. p. 109.

[i] Welſh Chron. p. 109.

and he himſelf ſlain in the action. Caradoc did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, as he died ſoon after, and left his ſon Rhytherch to ſucceed to the government of South Wales.[k]

Though no general and concerted meaſures of reſiſtance had taken place againſt the tyranny of William, a few inſurrections aroſe from the patriotiſm, or the diſcontent of the Engliſh Lords. Under cover of celebrating a marriage at Norwich between the ſiſter of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, ſeveral noblemen conſpired againſt William; and in the midſt of their carouſals, entered into a ſolemn engagement to defend their liberties.[l] To this wedding many Welſh of diſtinction were invited, out of reſpect to the mother of the earl of Norfolk, ſhe being born in that country, and in hopes of inducing the princes of Wales, by ſuch an act of courteſy, to favour their enterpriſe.[m] In the morning, when the effects of the wine had ceaſed, Waltheof, a Saxon nobleman, one of the conſpirators, being ſenſible of his folly, repaired to the king in Normandy, and informed him of the conſpiracy, with the part he himſelf had acted. On receiving this intelligence, that monarch came into England, and with his uſual vigour, aſſiſted by the ſpirited meaſures of his mini-

[k] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 103. [l] Math. Paris. p. 7. Wats's edition. [m] Welſh Chron. p. 111.

ſters

ſters, put a ſtop to the rebellion before it was matured into ſtrength;[n] and this inſurrection, like all others, when they prove ineffectual, ſerved only to render the conqueror's power more abſolute. Two noblemen, and others of the conſpiracy, died by the hands of the executioner;[o] and many of the Welſh, under the colour of treaſon, were involved in the ſame fate, though invited to the wedding merely as ſpectators of the ceremony; ſome of whom were hanged, others had their eyes put out, and the remainder were baniſhed the realm.[p] This ſtroke of *aſſumed* juſtice points out the ſavage and deciſive character of William; and the tame ſubmiſſion of the Welſh, without repriſals or ſhew of reſentment, marks the low ebb of national ſpirit at this diſhonourable period.

Soon after this event, Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, the king of North Wales and Powis, was aſſaſſinated by Rhys, the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn, and the nobility of Yſtrad Tywy.[q]

The inſtitution of a code of laws, and the general eſteem in which Bleddyn ap Cynvyn was held by his ſubjects, for his amiable manners and the mildneſs of his government,

[n] Stowe's Chron. p. 105. [o] Welſh Chron. p. 111.
[p] Math. Paris. p. 7. Stowe's Chron. p. 105.
[q] Welſh Annals, p. 111.

might

might have tranſmitted his name with credit to poſterity, if he had not betrayed the liberties of his country, and yielded up its honour, by deigning to receive his crown from the hands of its hereditary enemy, and by conſenting to hold its authority as a tributary[r] of the Engliſh princes.

[r] Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 68. Hovedon, p. 446.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN TO THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN.

ALTHOUGH the late prince Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had left many children, Trahaern ap Caradoc, his cousin, by the consent of the people, was raised to the throne of North Wales. Besides being himself a chieftain of eminence, he had some colourable pretence to that honour, having married Nest, the daughter of Llewelyn ap Seisyllt.[a] Ann. Dom. 1073.

AMIDST other causes of evil arising to the Welsh from their indistinct ideas of government,[b] the little atten-

[a] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 95, 105.

[b] It may be proper here to remark, that though the lineal succession was frequently interrupted, yet the Welsh always paid a regard to the same blood royal, except in the instance of Ædan ap Blegored.

tion they paid to hereditary ſucceſſion was a ſource of infinite miſery; the jarring claims of different competitors kept the ſtate in a continual ferment, gave a deeper ferocity to the minds of the people, and weakened their power to reſiſt a ſagacious and enterpriſing enemy.

Soon after the acceſſion of Trahaern to the throne of North Wales, Gryffydh ap Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, thought this a favourable opportunity of aſſerting his right to the crown, from which he had been unjuſtly excluded by the late uſurpations. This prince, during the late reigns, had ſought refuge in Ireland; and having procured aid from ſome Iriſh princes, his kinſmen (his mother being of that country) he landed a body of troops in Angleſey, and ſoon reduced that iſland to his obedience.[c] Encouraged by his early ſucceſs, and the ſupport of ſome powerful chieftains,[d] Gryffydh immediately paſſed the Menai, and encamped his army in Caernarvonſhire; intending by degrees to penetrate farther into the country; but Trahaern, alarmed at this unexpected invaſion, haſtily raiſed what force he was able, and march to attack his rival upon Bron-yr-Erw, whom he defeated and obliged to retire into Angleſey.[e]

[c] Welſh Chron. p. 112.

[d] Vita. Griff. fil. Conani, a manuſcript life of that prince, written in the Welſh language, as is ſuppoſed, near the time in which he lived.

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 113.

AT this time, Rhys, the ſon of Owen, and Rhytherch, the ſon of Caradoc, were joint ſovereigns in South Wales. The tranquillity of their reign was early diſturbed by an inſurrection raiſed by Gronw and Llewelyn, the ſons of Cadwgan[f] ap Bleddyn[g] ap Cynvyn; to revenge the murder committed on the late prince their grandfather. In this enterpriſe they were joined by Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch.[h] Though a victory was ſoon after gained at Camdhwr by the three chiefs, it apparently produced no effect, as Rhys remained the ſole ſovereign of South Wales, on the murder of Rhytherch his colleague. This event was followed by another enterpriſe undertaken by the ſons of Cadwgan; and though theſe princes obtained a ſecond victory at Gwaynyttyd, it does not appear that this ſucceſs produced any thing deciſive in their favour, as Rhys continued for ſome time to enjoy his government.[i] Ann. Dom. 1074.

THE king of North Wales having forced Gryffydh ap Cynan to fly into Angleſey, and regarding the diſtracted ſtate of South Wales as favourable to his deſigns of conqueſt, invaded that country. Rhys, ſupported by all the power of his ſubjects, marched to oppoſe the invader. A very fierce action enſued at Pwlhgwttic, in which the army of South Wales was defeated; and that prince, to avoid being taken priſoner, was forced to fly from one place to another;

[f] Strength of the army.
[g] Image of a wolf.
[h] Welſh Chron. p. 112.
[i] Ibid. p. 113.

till

till at length, falling into the hands of Caradoc ap Gryffydh, he and his brother Howel, were murdered in revenge of the death of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.[k] Even in these miserable times, when private resentment superseded the sober decision of the laws, the sword of justice, though usurped, seldom suffered the guilty to escape; as a keen sense of injury, and, what was deemed a sacred obligation, revenging the wrongs of their ancestors, were principles essential in hereditary feuds, and likewise deeply engrafted in the manners of the Welsh.

In this situation of affairs, Rhys ap Tewdwr, lineally descended from Howel Dha, whose family had been long excluded from their rights by the capricious succession of the times, put in his claim to the crown, and was elected prince of South Wales by the unanimous voice of the people.[l]

Ann. Dom. 1077.

During these transactions, Gryffydh ap Cynan had received a reinforcement out of Ireland. A similarity in situation, having inclined this prince and Rhys ap Tewdwr

[k] Welsh Chron. p. 113.

[l] According to Vaughan of Hengwrt, the immediate territories of this prince were only the present counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen; as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent, or Monmouthshire, and Glewising or Herefordshire, being governed by their several Reguli; though, there is no doubt, but all these acknowledged the sovereign authority of South Wales. British Ant. Revived, p. 7, 8. Welsh Chron. p. 114.

to form an alliance, they joined their forces; resolving by every effort in their power to support each other, and to vindicate the rightful succession. To oppose an union so dangerous to his safety, Trahaern ap Caradoc assembled his forces, and met the two princes upon the mountain of Carno;[m] where an engagement ensued, disputed with the obstinacy and valour natural to rivals who had every thing to hope and to fear. In this action Trahaern was slain, and his army entirely defeated.[n] This victory seated Gryffydh ap Cynan, and Rhys ap Tewdwr upon the thrones of their ancestors.[o] After this event, the king of North Wales entered Powis, and laid waste that territory with fire and sword.[p] Ann. Dom. 1079.

Thus, by a sudden turn of fortune, meeting, we suppose, the wishes of the people, was the lineal succession restored; which as long as it continued, was a means of softening the asperity of the times, and of increasing the national strength.

The prosperity of the king of North Wales was soon embittered by a sudden and deep reverse of fortune. On his return into his own dominions, a Welshman of the name

[m] Called Mynydd Carn, on account of a large Carnedd upon it, covering the remains of a great warrior, who had in ancient times been slain and burried there.

[n] Vita. fil. Gryff. Conani. Welsh Chron. p. 114. [o] Ibid.

[p] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 16. Vita. fil. Griff. Conani.

of

of Meirion Goch, engaged in the deſign of betraying that prince into the hands of the Engliſh. In purſuance of this, a ſtrong body of horſe and foot were ſtationed at Rug in Edeirnion, under the direction of the earls of Cheſter and Shrewſbury, agreeably to the plan which had been previouſly concerted. This meaſure having taken place, Gryffydh ap Cynan was deſired by the treacherous Welſhman, at the inſtance of the two Engliſh lords, to give them the meeting under the colour of a friendly conference. With a ſimplicity, which neither agreed with the character of the times, nor the dictates of prudence, the Welſh king came to the place appointed, attended only by a few of his retainers whom he had brought out of Ireland. As ſoon as he had made his appearance, he was ſeiſed, and carried in chains to the caſtle of Cheſter. His followers were allowed to depart, without any other injury than having a thumb cut off from the right hand of each; this whimſical reſentment might ariſe, it is probable, at the inſtigation of Meirion, who, from the prejudices of his country hailed them as foreigners, and on account of the partiality which this prince had always entertained for the Iriſh.

Gryffydh remained many years in captivity; a confinement, no doubt, that was rendered more bitter, from a ſenſe of his inability to protect his own kingdom, or to prevent the fatal innovations, which during that period, were taking place in South Wales and in Powis. The earl

ſo

of Chester, having secured so formidable an enemy, at different times made dreadful ravages in North Wales; and in order to preserve the conquests he had made, and render his inroads more safe, he erected a fortress at Aberllienawg in Anglesey, one also at Caernarvon, another at Bangor, and another in Meirionydd; all of which he furnished with strong garrisons.[p]

In this situation were the affairs of Wales, when William the Conqueror, probably resenting the late inroad of the Welsh, invaded that country with a powerful army. The Welsh princes, unable to oppose his arms, or awed by the influence of his mighty name, submitted without resistance to pay him homage, and to take the oath of fealty, as due from vassals to a superior lord.[q]

These hostile intentions being set aside by the peaceable demeanour of the Welsh princes, king William, agreeably to that spirit of piety which in these days tinctured the minds of the fiercest warriors, marched with his army to Saint David's, and offered up his devotions at the shrine of that Saint.[r] Ann. Dom. 1079.

[p] Cambden's Brit. p. 655. Vita Griff. fil. Conani.

[q] Math. Paris, p. 9. Lord Lyttelton says, that William, satisfied with this mark of vassalage, exacted no tribute as from a conquered country; the feudal laws regarding all as subjects who were admitted to homage, and of course exempting them from such impositions.
Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 49.

[r] Welsh Chron. p. 115.

Ann. Dom. 1087. A few years after this event, William the Conqueror died in Normandy. On the death of that prince, the genius of the Welsh nation revived, and with it revived also the variety of evils incident to civil dissentions.

The three sons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, desirous of recovering the sovereignty which they had lost by the murder of their father, and the usurpation of Trahaern ap Caradoc, raised an insurrection in South Wales against Rhys ap Tewdwr.[s] That prince not being able to oppose a force suddenly encreased by a swarm of men bred in the licentiousness of the times, retired into Ireland; and having powerful alliances in that country, procured a body of troops composed of Irish and Scots, with which he returned into South Wales, and was joined by numbers of his subjects. The three princes of Powis, sensible that dispatch was the life of such an enterprise as theirs, by a rapid movement, suddenly attacked Rhys, at a place called Lhechryd, before his army was strengthened by the numbers who were crowding to join him. In the battle which ensued, fortune decided against the insurgents. Two of the brothers Madoc and Ririd were slain, and the other saved his life by a precipitate flight. This commotion being fortunately ended, Rhys, with rewards expressive of his gratitude, dismissed his auxiliaries.[t]

[s] Welsh Chron. p. 117. [t] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 110.

THE

THE terror which had been impreſſed upon the minds of the Welſh, by the deciſive character of the late Engliſh monarch, and which had unnerved the public arm, ſubſided with the death of that fierce warrior. Early in the reign of his ſon William Rufus an inſurrection broke out upon the borders, excited by the earls of Hereford and Shrewſbury. The Welſh, eager to embrace the first favourable moment for the recovery of their liberties, joined the malecontent lords, and ruſhing with great fury on the Engliſh marches, like a fire which had been long pent up, they ravaged and laid waſte the country about Worceſter,[a] to the gates of that city.[b] But they were repulſed with great ſlaughter, by the ſpirited conduct of the citizens, excited by the exhortations of Wulſtan their biſhop. Ann. Dom. 1088.

AN incident happened at this time, ſpringing from a trivial occurrence, which produced a change in the affairs of South Wales the moſt important and deciſive, and which in ſome meaſure was the cauſe of the final ruin of Cambria. Llewelyn and Eineon, chiefs of ſome eminence in South Wales, being the ſons of the Lord of Dyvet, roſe in rebellion againſt Rhys ap Tewdwr their ſovereign; they likewiſe drew into their treaſonable deſigns Gryffydh ap

[a] Called by the Romans Brangonia, by the Britons Caer-Vrangon, and by the Saxons Worceſtre. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 26.

[b] Annales Waverlenſes, p. 136. Simon Dunelme, p. 214. Math. Paris, p. 12. Welſh Chron. p. 118.

 Meredith

Meredith, a nobleman of the country. Having joined their forces, they marched to attack prince Rhys, who then resided at Llandydoch, where an action ensued, in which the rebels were entirely defeated, and Gryffydh was taken prisoner, the two other leaders having saved themselves by flight. The rebel chief was instantly put to death as a traitor;[c] the first instance we have seen, in these miserable times, of legal justice asserting her prerogative to punish.

Eineon, become desperate by the late event, and not daring to trust his safety with any of his own kindred, associated with Jestyn ap Gurgunt, lord of Morgannwc, or Glamorgan,[d] between whom there was a similarity of situation and interest, he being then in arms against his sovereign. To bind them still more closely to each other, it was agreed that Eineon should marry the daughter of Jestyn, on condition that he procured a body of Normans to assist in their enterprise, as Eineon had served in the English armies, and had formed an acquaintance with the Norman nobility.[e] In pursuance of this project, Eineon posted into England.

The design was agreeable to the enterprising spirit of the age. The English princes too, had always em-

[c] Welsh Chron. p. 119, [d] Or the territory of Morgan.
[e] Welsh Chron., p. 119.

ployed

ployed in their various attempts of ſubjugating Wales, this principle of Machiavelian policy, " divide in order to command." And at this time, the treaſon of two men, coinciding with the views of Rufus, introduced a fatal poiſon into the boſom of their country. Ann. Dom. 1090.

Robert Fitzhammon, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber and baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. He ſelected for this enterpriſe twelve knights of conſiderable note, who agreed to ſerve under him with a large body of forces.[f] Theſe troops, early in the next year, landed in Glamorgan, and were received with great honour by Jeſtyn the lord of that country; who joining his forces with the Normans, invaded the territories of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and laid them waſte in the moſt cruel manner. At the time of this invaſion the prince of South Wales was above ninety years old. With a ſpirit and activity uncommon at his age, he marched in perſon againſt the rebels; but meeting them upon the black mountain near Brecknock, after a ſevere and bloody conflict, his army was vanquiſhed, and this ancient and gallant prince was himſelf ſlain in the action.[g] He left two ſons by his wife, the daughter of Rhywalhon ap Cynvyn, Gryffydh, an infant, and Gronw, who at his father's death was a priſoner in England.[h] In this Ann. Dom. 1091.

[f] Welſh Chron. p. 119.

[g] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 112. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 80. Polidore Virgil, lib. X. p. 171.

[h] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 81. Welſh Chron. p. 120.

manner

manner died Rhys ap Tewdwr, fighting for the independency of his country. With this prince ſunk the glory of the principality of South Wales; after whoſe death, betrayed by the vices of its princes, and torn in pieces by foreign adventurers, it loſt its ancient importance, and gradually fell into decay.

The treaſon of the Welſh chieftains having thus attained ſo fortunate an iſſue, Jeſtyn kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully; not only diſmiſſing them with the ſtipulated pay, but with preſents ſuitable to the importance of their ſervice. Eineon inſtantly demanded the daughter of Jeſtyn, agreeably to his promiſe; but that lord, become inſolent by proſperity, rejected his ſuit; and imbittered the refuſal by treating him with diſdain, and even with deriſion. Reſenting a conduct ſo faithleſs and ungrateful, Eineon poſted after the Normans, in hopes of overtaking them before they had ſailed. On his arrival at the ſea ſhore, he found they were already embarked; and as he might not be heard at ſo great a diſtance, he waved his mantle as a ſignal for them to return. Fitzhammon and his knights immediately put to ſhore to know the cauſe of ſo extraordinary a procedure. As ſoon as they had landed, Eineon laid open his grievances, and likewiſe the facility of ſubduing a territory likely to remain unprotected by the Welſh princes, who muſt have ſeen with an eye of indignation the late conduct of Jeſtyn. Touched in ſome meaſure with the injuries of their friend, but ſtill more

more, it is probable, with the prospect of possessing so fertile a country, Fitzhammon and his knights readily engaged in the views of Eineon; and contrary to every principle of honour suddenly invaded the territory of Glamorgan. Jestyn, little expecting such a turn of fortune, was easily dispossessed of his territories.[i] They then proceeded to parcel out the domain agreeably to feudal ideas. Fitzhammon, reserving to himself the principal parts, with the seigniory of the whole, gave the rest of that province, to be held as fiefs under him, to the twelve knights[k] who shared in the adventure; leaving the rough and barren mountains to the share of Eineon.[l]

In this manner were the lords of the marches[m] established in Wales, possessing in all cases, except the power of granting pardons for treason, *Jura regalia*. In the castle of Caerdiff the lords of Glamorgan usually kept their chancery, ex-

[i] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welsh Chron. p. 120. from Ran. Cest. lib. VII. cap. VII. Marianus Scotus.

[k] The castle and manor of Ogmore, was given to William de Londres; the lordship of Neath, to Richard Greenfield; that of Coyty, to Paine Tuberville; Llan-Blethyan, to Robert St. Quintine; Talavan, to Richard Siward; the castle and manor of Penmare, to Gilbert Humfrevile; the castle and manor of Sully, to Reginald Sully; the manor of East Orchard, to Roger Berkrolles; that of Peterton, to Peter le Soor; that of St. George, to John Fleming; that of Fenvon, to John St. John; and the manor of St. Donats to William le Esterling. See Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 115.

[l] Cambden's Brit. p. 609. Gibson's edit. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welsh Chron. p. 120.

[m] An old English word signifying *boundary*.

chequer,

chequer, and court; where the twelve knights, by their tenures, were obliged to attend one day in every month, having separate apartments in the castle for that purpose.[n] Each of the other lordships had a distinct jurisdiction, enjoying the same rights with that of Glamorgan, except in cases of wrong judgment, when an appeal might be made to the superior court. All disputes in matters of equity arising in the several lordships, were determined by the chancellor, in the chancery court of Glamorgan.[o]

The fortunate issue of the late adventure raised among the Norman nobility an ardent spirit of enterprise. The king of England threw powerful incentives in their way, alluring them by motives of interest and power, those strong incitements to human conduct. Several barons petitioned the crown for leave to possess, under homage and fealty, those lands which they might conquer in Wales. This liberty given to the English lords of obtaining at their own charge the territories of the Welsh, though apparently springing out of a wise policy, was grounded on the absurd idea of forfeiture, because that people had renounced the allegiance, to which they had submitted through necessity, during the operations of Harold, and the decisive reign of the Norman conqueror.

The situation of South Wales, rendered defenceless by the death of Rhys, the late prince, favoured the designs of

[n] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 115. [o] Welsh Chron. p. 122.

these

these military adventurers. Among the foremost of whom was Bernard de Newmarche,[p] who easily took possession of the province of Brecknock, containing three cantrevs; and to colour his title with some degree of popularity, he married Nest, a grandaughter of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn.[q] Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury was the next who did homage to the king for Caerdigan. Arnulph, the younger son of that nobleman, obtained likewise the great lordship of Dyvet; since named Pembrokeshire.[r] In this easy manner, by the desultory enterprises of a few Norman lords, was the principality of South Wales subdued, the ancient seat of the Dimetæ and the Silures, who, supported only by native bravery, had given a check to the Roman arms, and whose descendents had baffled, till this period, the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

THE principalities of North Wales and of Powis were not long secure from the incroaching spirit of the times. The earl of Shrewsbury did homage for all Powis, and brought under his subjection some districts in that territory, par-

[p] Several gentlemen came at this time to Brecknock with Bernard de Newmarche, to whom he gave the following manors, which their heirs enjoy to this time; the manor of Abercynuric and Slowch to the Aubreys; the manor of Llanhamlach and Tal-y-Lhyn to the Walbiefs; the manor of Gilston to the Gunters; and the manor of Pontwilym to the Havards, &c. See Welsh Chron. p. 150. Cambden's Britannia, p. 590. Gibson's edit.

[q] Welsh Chron. p. 148. [r] Ibid. p. 151.

ticularly the town and castle of Baldwin.[s] This important fortress he fortified more strongly, and called it Montgomery, after the name of his family.[t] The principality of Powis from this period had little concern in the interests of Wales. The policy of England soon rendered that territory, which had been for ages a barrier of defence, a dangerous neighbour upon the confines; and it became, by the defection of its princes, an instrument of mischief in the hands of the English against the national quiet and safety.

Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, likewise, did homage for Tegengl and Rhyvonioc, with the country extending along the sea shore from Chester, to the water of Conway. Ralph Mortimer did the same for the territory of Eluel; as did Hugh de Lacie for the lands of Ewyas; and Eustace Cruer for Mold and Hopedale.[u] These barons endeavoured to secure their conquests by erecting fortresses,[x] and, as far as they were able, by settling in them Norman or English inhabitants. At this time, Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, and Chester, were rebuilt, or fortified; and formed a line of military posts upon the frontiers.[y] Thus

[s] Built by Baldwyn, lieutenant of the Welsh marches, in the reign of William the first. See Cambden's Brit. p. 650. Gibson's edit.

[t] Welsh Chron. p. 152. [u] Ibid. p. 151

[x] Vaughan's British Ant. Reviv. p. 18.

[y] Manuscript relating to the marches of Wales, in the possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq. of Guernhailed in Flintshire.

the

the laſt aſylum of the Britons was inveſted almoſt on every ſide, or broken into by their enemies. The kingdom of North Wales, at this time reduced to the iſland of Angleſey, the counties of Mierionydh, and Caernarvon, and a part of Denbighſhire, and of Caerdigan, ſtill preſerved the national character and importance. The natives of that country, aided by the virtue of their princes, became more formidable than ever to the Engliſh; and, at times, acquiring union with additional vigour from deſpair, their enemies, inſtead of being able to make new conqueſts, held thoſe which they had already obtained by a precarious tenure.

The late incidents having produced a ſtriking change in the ſituation of Wales, and the lords of the marches having introduced into the country a new ſyſtem of juriſprudence, ſome account of thoſe lords, and of the ſyſtem which they introduced, may be intereſting to the reader. The conqueſt of Wales had always been a leading object in the politics of England, not only from the deſire of more extenſive dominion, but as a means of preventing in future the like devaſtation and miſery, which the animoſity of a warlike and an injured people had occaſioned on the Engliſh borders. The utility, likewiſe, of employing in foreign enterpriſes a martial nobility, inclined the Norman princes to encourage, by every incitement of advantage and honour, the dangerous deſigns of ſubduing, or of making ſettlements in Wales.

 To

To enable the Engliſh lords to preſerve the obedience of the people they had ſubdued, the kings of England allowed them to aſſume, in their ſeveral territories, an abſolute juriſdiction.[z] But they did not hold this authority under any grant from the crown; it was only for the preſent connived at by the prince, and aroſe, as a wiſe meaſure, out of their particular ſituations. There is not, it is ſaid, any record to be found in the tower, or in other parts of England, of a grant having been given to any lord of the marches, to poſſeſs the authority annexed to that dignity. The king's writs, iſſuing out of the courts at Weſtminſter, did not extend into any part of Wales, except into Pembrokeſhire, accounted at this time a portion of England; neither did the ſheriffs, nor other officers of the king, execute his writs or precepts in any other part of the country.

The high privileges incident to the lords of the marches, could not for many reaſons be held by charter. The kings of England, when they gave to any baron ſuch lands as they might conquer from the Welſh, could not fix thoſe immunities on any certain precinct, not knowing which, or whether any would be eventually ſubdued. The lords themſelves were not ſolicitous to procure ſuch immunities; as it frequently happened, that thoſe lands of which they had taken poſſeſſion, were afterwards recovered by the

[z] Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life of Henry VIII.

Welſh,

Welsh, either by composition with the kings of England, or by force of arms. Another cause of their not possessing any charters of prerogative, was, that such privileges, so high in their nature, so royal and united to the crown, could not by the laws of England be disunited from the same. It was therefore thought a better course, to suffer them to establish, of their own authority, such royal jurisdictions, rather than to hold them under a grant from the sovereign, which if at any time called in question, might be adjudged of no force. Those lordships which were conquered at the expence of the English princes themselves, were subject to a more regular jurisdiction; being governed in general by the laws of England.[a]

The lords of the marches, selecting the most agreeable and fertile parts of their territories, built castles for their own residence, and towns for the accommodation of their soldiers. It was in this manner, that most of the present towns and castles on the frontier of Wales were built, and this appears by the ancient charters given to such towns by those lords who first conquered, or founded them, expressive of immunities to the burgesses, and freemen; few or none of them having purchased such liberties from the kings of England till many years after; and when that was done, which was seldom the case, they were only confirmations of privileges granted them by their ancient lords.

[a] Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

Among

Among other towns and caſtles about this time erected in Wales, were Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordweſt, built by Strongbow, William de Valence, and the Haſtings. Newport was built by Martin, lord of Kemmaes; the town and caſtle of Kydweli by Londres, and afterwards enlarged by the duke of Lancaſter; the towns and caſtles of Swanſey, Oyſtermouth, Loghor, Radnor, Buellt, and Rhaiadr, were built by the Bruces, the Mortimers, and the Beauchamps; Blaen-llyfni by Herbert; Abergaveny by Dru de Baladon; Ruthin by the lords Grey, and Denbigh by Lacie earl of Lincoln. The greateſt part of theſe were ancient towns or caſtles before the Norman conqueſt, which had been either deſtroyed or injured in the lapſe of time, or by the devaſtation of war.

The lords of the marches held under the kings of England, by the tenure of ſerving in the wars with a certain number of their vaſſals, and of furniſhing their caſtles with ſtrong garriſons, and with the neceſſary implements of war.

The Engliſh laws were for the moſt part adminiſtered in the marches of Wales; their tenures, likewiſe, were principally Engliſh, being tranſmitted by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of ſeiſin. Some lords, from motives of prudence, permitted their tenants, who were natives of the country, to enjoy many of their ancient laws, which were not repugnant to thoſe of England, or injurious to their

their own intereſt. Among other conceſſions in favour of the Welſh, were, the uſage of gavel-kind, and the transfer of lands by ſurrender in court; which gained admiſſion into the juriſdiction of theſe lordſhips under the name of cuſtoms, though anciently they had formed a part of the common law of Wales. A ſufficient number of people not being eaſily obtained to colonize the conquered countries, it was an obvious policy in the lords of the marches, to ſooth the aſperity of conqueſt, by allowing the Welſh to enjoy many of their ancient cuſtoms. As the mode of transfer, as well as the principles of ſucceſſion, were different among the two people, two courts were eſtabliſhed in many lordſhips, in which the cuſtom of each nation prevailed. There were, however, a few lordſhips, though entirely held by Engliſh tenures, in which the tenants were permitted the cuſtom of gavel-kind, although they tranſmitted their lands by feoffment. Theſe lands were ſaid to be held by Engliſh tenure, and by Welſh *dole*. In thoſe lordſhips where the lands were thus divided, and which were held by knights ſervice, the lord had the wardſhip of all the ſons, as well as daughters; and as this was a point of great advantage, it might induce the lords to encourage in their tenants the cuſtom of dividing their lands among their ſons. In many lordſhips the Welſh laws were not in uſe, and Engliſh cuſtoms entirely prevailed. The whole juriſprudence depended entirely on the will of the firſt conquerors.

THE

The chief qualification of a lord of the marches, was that he ſhould hold of the king in capite. Though conqueſt was the general principle on which his right was founded, in ſome inſtances his dignity proceeded from a different cauſe, as in the caſe of Powis, a great part of which was never gained by conqueſt, but changed into lordſhips marchers by the following means. The princes of Powis, ſeeing the perilous ſituation of their country, and actuated by fear or intereſted motives, made their ſubmiſſions to Henry the firſt, and agreed to hold under him their ſeveral territories, paying the ſame obedience and duties, which the lords of the marches owed to the crown of England. Thus did ſeveral of the lordſhips in Powis differ from the reſt; in one point, however, they agreed; that they did, and of neceſſity muſt, hold of the king in capite. This circumſtance, together with renouncing obedience to the princes of Wales, was all that was at firſt expected by the kings of England from the lords of the marches. The baronies of Powis had not any manors which held under it, like other lordſhips which were gained by conqueſt; and for the ſame reaſon there were no knights fees, nor plow, or ox lands in thoſe lordſhips; theſe diviſions being introduced into Wales by the Engliſh and Norman lords, and entirely unknown to the Welſh and to the ancient Britons.

Having

HAVING thus given a ſhort account of the introduction, and the nature of the lords marchers in Wales,[z] ſettled in the country at different periods, we ſhall reſume the ſubject of the hiſtory.

IN no period of their annals have the Welſh appeared in ſo deplorable a ſituation as the preſent. North Wales had been left many years without a ſovereign, in the power of the earl of Cheſter, and expoſed to his merciless ravages: ſince the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr no chieftain had ariſen in South Wales to rekindle the ſpirit of patriotiſm; and that country, wreſted, in a great meaſure, from the hands of its native princes, had been parcelled out among Norman adventurers.[a] In this ſtate of things, the affairs of North Wales were changed on a ſudden, by the enterpriſing ſpirit of a few individuals, poſſeſſed of neither power nor conſequence.

GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN had languiſhed twelve years in captivity,[b] neglected by his ſubjects, or what is more probable, without their having had the ability to procure his releaſe. The ſituation of this prince excited the compaſſion

[z] This account of the lords marchers is taken from a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq. of Guernhailed, Flintſhire.

[a] Brady relates out of Domeſday, that William the Conqueror granted to Hugh Lupus, earl of Cheſter, North Wales in farm at the rent of £40 per annum; beſides Rhôs and Rhyvonioc. Page 201.

[b] Cambden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 656.

of a young man, named *Kynwric Hir*, a native of Edeirnion; who determined, if poſſible, to effect his eſcape out of priſon, though at every hazard to himſelf. The enterpriſe was bold, generous, and full of danger. Attended by a few followers he repaired to Cheſter, under pretence of buying ſome neceſſaries; and having gained admittance into the caſtle, at the edge of night, while the keepers were deeply engaged in feaſting, he carried away on his back the captive prince, loaded with chains, and conveyed him with ſafety into his own dominions. Though Gryffydh ap Cynan had thus fortunately eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies, he had many difficulties ſtill to encounter, as his own ſubjects were either diſpirited, or alienated from him; and the Engliſh were maſters of the country.

His danger was ſometimes ſo great, that he was obliged to lie concealed in woods or other places of ſecurity; till at length, having taken thoſe caſtles which the Normans had erected during his confinement, he regained the entire poſſeſſion of his kingdom.[c]

It was not likely that the impatient ſpirit of the Welſh, their Sovereign having at length obtained his liberty, would remain quiet under the late uſurpations. Gryffydh ap Cynan, fired with reſentment for the miſeries which he

[c] Vita Griffith. fil. Conani.

himſelf

himſelf and his country had endured, with Cadwgan the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, invaded the territory of Caerdigan, and ſlew great numbers of the Engliſh, who had lately ſettled in that country.[d] After this enterpriſe the two princes returned into their own territories.

The Normans immediately procured a reinforcement out of England, and propoſed, by a ſudden inroad into North Wales, to revenge the injuries they had lately ſuſtained. The deſign was diſcovered by Cadwgan; and that prince, ſuddenly intercepting them as they marched through the foreſt of *Yſpys*, defeated their forces, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and obliged them to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The rapid movements of the Welſh prince did not allow his enemies leiſure to breathe. For purſuing them cloſely in their flight, and aſſiſted by the general conſternation, he laid waſte the country of Caerdigan and Dyvet, demoliſhed every fortreſs lately erected, except the caſtles of Pembroke and Rydcors, which by their ſtrength, or the bravery of the garriſons, baffled his power. Having thus recovered, by ſo fortunate an enterpriſe, a great part of South Wales, Cadwgan returned into Powis.[e] Ann. Dom. 1092.

Elated with ſuch unuſual proſperity, and animated by a ſpirit of patriotiſm, the king of North Wales, and the

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 152. Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 152.

ſons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, united their forces. Not content with expelling the enemies of their country, they carried their arms into the marches of England, a ſpirit of ferocity directing their operations. The Welſh princes divided their forces into different parties, one of which was defeated by the earl of Shrewſbury.[f] The other bodies, not meeting with any reſiſtance, with all the force and impetuoſity of a torrent, ſpread along the Engliſh borders devaſtation and ruin. The counties of Cheſter, Hereford, Worceſter, and Salop, were laid waſte. The cities, the towns, and many villages were plundered, or ſet on fire, or levelled with the ground; and, with a cruelty that diſhonoured the juſtice of their cauſe, the inhabitants, without any diſtinction of age or of ſex, were carried away priſoners, or periſhed by the ſword.

William Rufus, inflamed with reſentment, that a people, who had yielded a tame ſubmiſſion to his father, ſhould dare to contemn his authority, and attack him in his own dominions, raiſed a great army, and marched in perſon on a ſudden, into the confines of Wales. The Welſh, however, with great ſpirit repulſed his attacks, and after loſing great numbers of men and horſes, he was forced to return with diſhonour into England to reinforce his army. The Welſh princes, on the retreat of the Engliſh,

[f] Annales Waverleienſes, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Hiſtoriæ.

fluſhed

flushed with their success, ventured to lay siege to the castle of Montgomery, reputed the strongest and the best fortified of any in Wales. The Normans gallantly defended the place for many days; but the Welsh, having found means to undermine the walls, took it by storm; and after putting all the garrison to the sword, levelled that fortress with the ground.[g] Ann. Dom. 1093.

One common spirit of asserting their freedom seems to have animated the Welsh at this fortunate moment. The English, who inhabited South Wales, were instantly attacked in their different settlements, and after some desultory resistance, were at length obliged to evacuate the country. In the course of these hostilities, Roger Montgomery earl of Salop, William Fitzeustace earl of Gloucester, and other English noblemen of distinction were slain.[h] Thus at length did this gallant people, whose spirit had of late been depressed by the hand of power, recover, with somewhat like elastic force, the importance of their ancient character. Ann. Dom. 1094.

Though the Normans had been driven out of South Wales, they were in no measure reconciled to the loss of their fertile possessions. They ordered fresh soldiers to

g Brompton's Chron. p. 991. Simon Dunelme, p. 220. Polydore Vergil p. 273. Walter Hemingford Canon of Gislebourne, p. 465. Annales Waverleienses, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Historiæ.

h Welsh Chron. p. 154.

garrison

garrison the different castles which they had erected in the country, besides furnishing each of them with a proper stock of provisions. Returning into South Wales, once more to contend for the prize with the native inhabitants, they were assaulted on a sudden by the sons of Ednerth ap Cadwgan, and driven back into England with great slaughter. Their several fortresses, after a spirited defence made by the garrisons, were yielded up to the Welsh, who for some time were left in quiet possession of a great part of the country. At the same time, two chieftains of North Wales, joining their forces with those of the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, the prince of Powis, made an inroad into Dyvet, then in the possession of Arnulph the son of Roger Montgomery; and after having laid waste the whole country, they returned into their respective territories loaded with plunder. The castle of Pembroke, lately built by the above-mentioned lord, had baffled all their attempts, the Welsh not being able to take it; that fortress having been gallantly defended by Gerald de Windsor, the governor.[i]

The late disasters, and the disgrace which he in person had received, excited in the fierce mind of Rufus the keenest indignation. He entered Wales, a second time, at the head of a royal army, and advanced as far as the mountains. During the march, the activity of the Welsh cut off his

[i] Welsh Chron. p. 154.

provisions,

provisions, harrassed his troops, and considerably diminished his numbers both in men and horses; for keeping aloof in the woods and marshes, or on the tops of the mountains, they suddenly attacked the English, with great advantage, in the defiles of the country, and in the passages of rivers.[k] And such was the valour of the Welsh, and such the conduct of their leaders, so great were the difficulties likewise which Rufus found in attempting to penetrate through the country, or to draw the enemy to a battle, that in despair he gave over the enterprise, and after refortifying some castles on the borders, returned with additional disgrace into England.[l] Ann. Dom. 1095.

The late exertions of the Welsh, and the prosperous turn in their affairs, must surely give pleasure to every reader of sentiment, who feels a tender concern for the interests of humanity; and who has seen a spirit of private rapacity, directed by the policy of England, and acting in concert with its power, entrenching on the natural rights of a people, inferior, it is true, in every means of resource, but distinguished by the justice of their cause, and their enthusiastic love of liberty.

Discomfiture and disgrace having of late attended on the arms of England, a different mode of conducting the war was adopted. A fresh body of Normans were en-

[k] Brompton's Chron. p.992. Math. Westm. lib. II. fol. 12. Polydore Vergil, p.174.

[l] Ibid.

couraged

couraged to undertake, at their own charge, the conquest of the Welsh; and about this time, or before, many barons had acquired considerable settlements, in those parts of Wales which were yet unsubdued, or along the frontiers of the country. Among others, Peter Corbet settled on the lordship of Caurse, Mortimer on Wigmore, Fitz Alen on Clun and Oswestree, Monthault on Hawarden, Fitz-warren on Whittington, Roger le Strange on Elsmere, Drude Baladon on Abergaveny, and Gilbert on Monmouth.[m]

Ann. Dom. 1096.

At the secret instigation of Owen ap Edwyn, lord of Tegengl, and other eminent chieftains in North Wales, a very formidable army invaded that country, under the command of the earls of Shrewsbury[n] and Chester.[o] Gryffydh, the king of North Wales, and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn of Powis, not being able on a sudden to collect a force sufficient to oppose them, and not having the necessary confidence in their troops, gave way for a time, and retired to the mountains for security. The two earls, meeting with no resistance, continued their march into that part of Caernarvonshire which lies opposite to the isle of Anglesey. When Gryffydh ap Cynan saw the danger which threatened the seat of his government, he passed over the Menai into Anglesey, attended by Cadwgan ap Bleddyn; and having

[m] Manuscript treatise on the marches in possession of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Esq.

[n] Hugh *Vras*, or the fat earl of Chester.

[o] Called by the Welsh Hugh *Goch*, or Hugh with the red head.

received

received a ſlight reinforcement out of Ireland, he ſeemed determined to defend the iſland.[p] In this ſituation, Owen ap Edwyn, whoſe daughter had married the Welſh king, and who was likewiſe his chief counſellor, openly avowed his treaſon, and joined the Engliſh army with all his forces. The Welſh princes, alarmed at ſuch an inſtance of perfidy, and unable to oppoſe this united power, withdrew into Ireland.[q] After their departure, that iſland fell an eaſy prey to the enemy; who poured on the inhabitants the full meaſure of retaliation for the cruelties lately exerciſed on the borders of England. It is painful to relate the ſingular and ſavage barbarities exerciſed on this occaſion, reſembling more the deliberate malice of ruffians than the impetuoſity of ſoldiers. Some of theſe people had their hands cut off, others their feet, ſome had their eyes pulled out, others were caſtrated, and great numbers were ſlain. A prieſt of the name of Kenred, venerable for his years and wiſdom, having taken ſanctuary in a church, the earl of Shrewſbury cauſed him to be taken from thence, ordered one of his eyes to be pulled out, his tongue to be cut, and cauſed him likewiſe to be deprived of his manhood.[r] We ſhould have drawn a veil over ſuch a ſcene of barbarity, if the deſign of hiſtory had been only to adorn a ſtory, and not to point the inſtructive moral, or to delineate, with a faithful pencil, the portraiture of men and manners.

p Welſh Chron. p. 155. q Ibid.

r Brompton's Chron. p. 994. Fabian, p. 315.

 THE

The ſafety of North Wales in this perilous criſis, depended upon a train of fortuitous circumſtances, which, as they baffle the ſagacity of men, often decide in human affairs. Magnus the ſon of Olave king of Norway, having taken poſſeſſion of the Orkneys and of the Iſle of Man, arrived accidentally on the coaſt of Angleſey. Having intelligence of the cruelties committed by the Engliſh, and touched with a ſenſe of generous pity, he determined to land his forces, to ſave the miſerable inhabitants from deſtruction.[s] The Engliſh endeavoured to oppoſe the Norwegians. In attempting this, the earl of Shrewſbury was ſlain. The prince of Norway, obſerving that nobleman, whoſe impetuous valour had carried him into the ſea, reſolute in oppoſing his landing, levelled an arrow, which through the opening of his armour pierced his right eye, and reaching his brain, he fell down convulſed into the water. On ſeeing him fall, the Norwegian prince, in his own language, exultingly cried "let him dance."[t] This accidental ſtroke of juſtice, ſeen by the eye of ſuperſtition, made the Welſh conclude, that the arrow had been directed by the immediate hand of the Almighty.

The death of the earl of Shrewſbury occaſioned ſome diſorder among the Engliſh, and obliged them to abandon

[s] Welſh Chron. p. 156. Vit. Griffithi. fil. Conan.

[t] Giraldus Cambrenſis. Itin. cap. VII. Simon Dunelme, p. 223.

the

the ſhore. On this diſcomfiture, the earl of Cheſter ſuddenly retreated into England; leaving Owen ap Edwyn to enjoy for a time the fruits of his treaſon. The Norwegians, finding the Engliſh had not left any thing to plunder, immediately re-embarked.[u] In the courſe of this expedition, the earl of Cheſter rebuilt the caſtle of Diganwy, the ſeat of the ancient princes of Wales.[x]

After an abſence of two years, Gryffydh ap Cynan, attended by Cadwgan, returned out of Ireland into Wales, and concluded a peace with the Engliſh, upon terms of great diſadvantage. In conſequence of this, the dominions of Gryffydh were reduced to the iſland of Angleſey; and Cadwgan retained only the territory of Caerdigan, and a ſmall part of Powis.[y] Unacquainted as we are with the ſprings of action, it is not eaſy to account for the long abſence of Gryffydh,[z] or to trace in his preſent conduct any marks of that vigour, and deciſiveneſs of character, which diſtinguiſhed the early operations of his reign. Ann. Dom. 1098.

At this time William Rufus was accidentally ſlain as he was hunting in the New Foreſt in Hampſhire.

[u] Welſh Chron. p. 156.

[x] King's Vale Royal of Cheſhire, p. 48. [y] Welſh Chron. p. 156.

[z] It might be owing, it is probable, to the diſaffection of his own ſubjects, who had a ſtrong averſion to ſtrangers; and whom this prince had uſually employed in his ſervice, and likewiſe to the partiality he had always ſhewn for the Iriſh. See Vita Griffithi Conani.

His younger brother Henry succeeded to the crown of England.

Ann. Dom. 1101. ROBERT DE BELESMO the son of Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, and Arnulph his brother earl of Pembroke, having engaged in rebellion against Henry, drew into their designs Meredydh, Jorwerth, and Cadwgan, the three princes of Powis, and sons to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. Henry marched in person with a large army against them, and repairing to the marches of Wales, laid siege to the castle of Brugge, or Bridgenorth. Finding this fortress too strong, on account of its situation and warlike appointments, to afford him the prospect of reducing it without great difficulty and loss of time, he sent privately to Jorwerth one of the Welsh princes, in hopes, by such motives as were likely to touch his interest, or resentment, to detach him from the rebels, and incline him to engage in his service. He offered him the territories which the two earls possessed in Wales, without paying tribute, or taking any oath of allegiance; at the same time, he recalled to his memory the many and deep injuries which his country had received from the families of those lords. These offers, artfully directed to the feelings of the Welsh prince, were gladly accepted. Jorwerth immediately joined the king, and with the usual animosity of a deserter, detached his troops to ravage the lands of the two English earls. The perfidy of his conduct threw his brothers and the rebel lords

lords into the utmoſt diſmay; they deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the king, and, within a little time after, the confederacy was diſſolved.[z]

As ſoon as the king had returned into England, Jorwerth arreſted Meredydh, and put him in priſon; his other brother Cadwgan he took into favour, and gave him the lands of Caerdyff, and a part of Powis. He then repaired to the court of Henry, in confidence of receiving from that prince, a ſuitable recompence for the ſervices he had lately performed. The king, however, wanting no longer his aſſiſtance, not only received him coldly, but deprived him of thoſe lands which he had received as the reward of his treachery, and diſmiſſed him from the court covered with ſhame and diſappointment.[a] Soon after, Richard de Belmarſh the biſhop of London, was appointed warden of the marches. This prelate ſummoned Jorwerth to attend him at Shrewſbury, under pretence of conſulting about public affairs; but as ſoon as the Welſh prince appeared he was arreſted for treaſon, found guilty of the charge, and committed to priſon.[b] The diſtruſt of a traitor, and the dread of the effects ariſing from diſappointed ambition, were no doubt the real cauſes of his diſgrace.

Ann. Dom. 1102.

[z] Welſh Chron. p. 158. [a] Ibid. p. 159.
[b] Ibid. p. 160.

At

At this period, a ſeries of feuds and hoſtilities, unpleaſing in the recital, ariſe in the hiſtory of Wales. Theſe civil diſſentions, too deſcriptive of the manners of the Welſh, were the means of accelerating the ruin of the ſtate; deſtroying by degrees its union and its ſtrength, and affording opportunities to the Engliſh kings of detaching the Welſh chieftains from the intereſt of their country.

Ann. Dom. 1108. In the Chriſtmas holidays, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn invited the chieftains in his neighbourhood to a feaſt at his houſe in Dyvet. In the courſe of the entertainment, medh, or *mead*, the wine of this country, having raiſed their ſpirits, Neſt[d] the wife of Gerald, governor in Pembroke caſtle, was ſpoken of in terms of admiration; the beauty and elegance of whoſe perſon, it was ſaid, exceeded thoſe of any lady in Wales. The curioſity of Owen the ſon of Cadwgan was ſtrongly excited to ſee her; and he had little doubt of obtaining admittance, as there was a degree of relationſhip ſubſiſting between them. Under colour of a friendly viſit, the young chieftain, with a few of his attendants, was introduced into the caſtle. Finding that fame had been cold in her praiſe, he returned home deeply enamoured of her beauty, and fired with an eager deſire of enjoying her. The ſame night, returning with a troop of his wild companions, he ſecretly entered the caſtle, and

[d] Cambden's Brit. p. 630. Gibſon's edit.

in

in the confusion occasioned by setting it on fire, surrounded the chamber in which Gerald and his wife slept. Awaked by the noise, he rushed suddenly out of bed to inquire into the cause of the disturbance; but his wife, suspecting some treachery, prevented his opening the door; then, advising him to retire to the privy, she pulled up the board; and still farther assisting her husband, he let himself down, and made his escape. Owen and his followers instantly broke open the door; but on searching the chamber, not finding Gerald, they seised his wife and two of his sons, besides a son and a daughter which he had by a concubine; then leaving the castle in flames, and ravaging the country, he carried off Nest and the children into Powis. This adventure gave Cadwgan the greatest uneasiness. Afraid lest Henry might revenge on his head the atrocious action of his son, he came into Powis; and requested Owen that he would send back to Gerald his wife and children, as well as the plunder which he had taken. The young chieftain, whose love was heightened by the possession of his mistress, refused to restore her. Whether she yielded to the violence of her lover from choice or from necessity, is uncertain; but he soon after sent back to Gerald all his children, at her particular request.[e] Ann. Dom. 1108.

Soon after this, Owen being afraid of receiving from the warden of the marches the punishment due to such an out-

[e] Welsh Chron. p. 164. and Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 129.

rage

rage, escaped into Ireland, with all his associates concerned in that transaction. His father Cadwgan secreted himself for a time in Powis; but having satisfied king Henry of his innocence concerning the late affair, he was permitted to remain in his own country, and to enjoy the town and lands which he held in right of his wife;[f] he was some time after re-instated in the possessions which had belonged to him in Caerdigan, on paying to the king a fine of one hundred pounds.[g]

At this time, after many years confinement, Jorwerth ap Bleddyn was released out of prison, and restored to his territory; on his paying a fine of three hundred pounds in money, or of that value in cattle or horses.

Soon after, this prince and his brother Cadwgan went into England, to transact with Henry some affairs of their own.[h] During their absence, Owen the son of Cadwgan, who was just arrived out of Ireland, and whose turbulent spirit was always in motion, murdered a bishop, with all his attendants, on his journey to the English court;[i] and then retired for security into his father's territories. This transaction being reported to Henry, Cadwgan was called to answer for the behaviour of his son; but the excuses he made not satisfying the king, he took away his lands;

[f] Welsh Chron. p. 165. [g] Ibid. p. 166, 168.
[h] Ibid. [i] Ibid.

telling

telling him, at the ſame time, that his territories ſhould be given to one, who would be able to reſtrain ſuch diſorders with a firmer hand. He then ſettled on him a penſion for life, and charged him on his allegiance, not to enter any part of Wales until leave ſhould be given.

The territory of the Welſh prince was given to Strongbow earl of Strigal, on the uſual condition of obtaining poſſeſſion by the ſword. This baron ſoon after landing in Caerdiganſhire, eaſily accompliſhed his views; and to render his poſſeſſions more ſecure, he erected two fortreſſes, one of which he built on the ſea ſhore, about a mile from Llanbadarn, and the other at a place called Dingerant, on Ann. Dom. the river Teivi.[k] 1109.

Soon after theſe events, Madoc ap Ririd ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a couſin, and a wild aſſociate of Owen's, returned out of Ireland. Having ſecreted himſelf in the lands of his uncle Jorwerth, that prince dreading the fate of his brother Cadwgan, gave orders to his vaſſals that they ſhould treat his nephew as an enemy. Upon this, Madoc collected a body of outlaws, with whom he lay concealed amidſt the rocks and the receſſes of the woods, waiting for an opportunity of revenging the affront; he likewiſe entered into a friendſhip with Lhywarch ap Trahaern, between whom and the family of his uncle, there ſubſiſted a deadly feud.

* Welſh Chron. p. 169.

Having intelligence that Jorwerth intended, on a certain night, to lodge at Caerenieon in Montgomeryſhire, the two chiefs with their followers ſurrounded the place at midnight. The prince and his attendants, ſtarting from their ſleep, defended the houſe with much ſpirit for a conſiderable time. The aſſailants, then, unable to make any impreſſion, ſet it on fire. In this extremity, the people within endeavoured to make their eſcape; in doing which, ſome of them had the good fortune to puſh through the enemy, others were ſlain in the attempt, and the remainder were burnt in the houſe. Jorwerth himſelf, attempting to force his way, ruſhed on the ſpears of the aſſailants; but overpowered, he was driven back, and periſhed in the flames.

As ſoon as Henry heard of this event, calling Cadwgan into his preſence, he received that prince into favour, and gave him the territory which his late brother had poſſeſſed in Powis; and, from ſome motives of his own which do not appear, he even extended his grace to Owen, deſiring his father to ſend for him out of Ireland, whither he had fled on account of the late murder of the biſhop.[1]

Madoc, finding his uncle Cadwgan in poſſeſſion of his late brother's territories, though his hands had been already ſtained with the blood of one relation, determined the firſt

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 170, 171.

opportunity

opportunity to imbrue them ſtill deeper, by the murder of his other uncle Cadwgan. This prince, having brought his territories into ſome degree of order, repaired to Trallwng or Pool in Montgomeryſhire, attended by the elders of the country; where he began to erect the caſtle of Powis, in which he intended to reſide. In this ſituation he was on a ſudden aſſaulted and ſlain by Madoc, before he had time to fly, or even to prepare for his defence.

Thus died, after a variety of fortunes, Cadwgan the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; dignified by Cambden with the title of the renowned Briton, a prince, whoſe valour, ſenſe of juſtice, and other milder virtues, might, in any age but this, have exempted him from a death ſo cruel, and ſo unworthy of his character. What aggravates ſtill more the ſeverity of his fate, is, that he ſhould receive that death by the hands of ſo near a kinſman.

After the murder of his uncle, Madoc applied to the warden of the marches for lands which had been formerly promiſed him, and that officer, influenced by the reſentment he had borne to Cadwgan and his family, granted his requeſt; and what is ſtill more ſingular, king Henry received the ruffian into his favour, upon paying a fine.[m]

[m] Welſh Chron. p. 170, 171.

A series of retaliated injuries now arise in regular succession; evils naturally springing from the passions when they usurp the sword of justice.

Meredydh, the only surviving son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, caused an inroad to be made into the country belonging to Lhywarch ap Trahaern, who had been accessory to the murder of his brothers. Passing in the night through the lands of Madoc ap Ririd, Meredydh's party, meeting a vassal belonging to that chieftain, inquired for his master; the man at first affecting ignorance, was threatened with instant death; he then gave them intelligence that he was in a place at no great distance from thence. They then, early in the morning beset Madoc on a sudden, slew many of his followers, and brought him prisoner to Meredydh; who instantly sent to his nephew Owen to decide his fate. That chief, reflecting that he had been an associate of Madoc, and that they were united by oath in the bonds
Ann. Dom. 1112. of friendship, determined not to put him to death; though, with a whimsical refinement in mercy, he satisfied his revenge by putting out his eyes.[n] Incidents like these, arising from the collison of contending parties, present, in sanguinary tints, a lively picture of barbarism.

In the course of these events, Henry the king of England had an opportunity of giving to his territories in South

[n] Welsh Chron. p. 172.

Wales,

Wales, an increaſe of ſecurity and ſtrength, of the moſt ſtable and beneficial nature. During the reign of his father a great number of Flemings, having been driven out of their habitations by a very uncommon inundation, had come over into England. That king had entertained them with much cordiality from juſt notions of policy, to increaſe, by ſuch a number of uſeful inhabitants, the riches and ſtrength of his kingdom. Many of theſe people, having been diſperſed in different parts, began by their numbers to create ſome uneaſineſs; which Henry removed by ſettling them as a colony in South Wales, where he gave them the country adjoining to Tenby and Haverfordweſt, in which their poſterity remain to this day.[o]

DURING theſe tranſactions, the king of North Wales had never done homage, or paid tribute to the crown of England. Henry, having lately overcome his foreign enemies, received complaints from the earl of Cheſter, that frequent devaſtations had been committed on his territories by Gryffydh ap Cynan, and by Gronw ap Owen ap Edwyn the lord of Tegengl. Similar complaints had been likewiſe made by the earl of Strigal, to whom Henry had lately given Caerdigan, that Owen the ſon of Cadwgan kept a number of retainers who frequently plundered and

[o] Wm. Malmſbury p. 158. Girald. Cambr. Itin. lib. I. cap. XI. Verſtigan, chap. IV. p. 100. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 58.

infeſted

infested his country.[r] On these complaints, Henry swore in his anger, he would not leave a Welshman alive in North Wales, or in Powis; that he would exterminate the nation, and settle in each country new inhabitants out of his own dominions. To execute this threat, he drew together, from different parts of his kingdom, a very considerable force; and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, came and served under him in person.

THREE armies were formed; one of which, composed of a large body of Scots, and the power of the north, under the conduct of the Scottish king, and the earl of Chester, was designed for the conquest of North Wales; another, consisting of the strength of Cornwall, and a fourth part of England, led by the earl of Strigal, was ordered to invade Ann. Dom. 1113. those parts of South Wales which were still possessed by the natives; and a third, taking in the flower of his military vassals in the middle part of his dominions, was commanded by the king of England himself, with which he proposed to subdue all Powis.

NEVER were the Welsh, to all appearance, in such danger as at this period; the storm gathering from different quarters, seemed ready to burst, and overwhelm them in ruin.

[r] Welsh Chron. p. 173.

INTIMIDATED

Intimidated at the proſpect, Meredydh ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, delivered himſelf up to the mercy of Henry; and Owen his nephew the ſon of Cadwgan fled to Gryffydh ap Cynan. The king then changed his firſt deſign, and directing all his force againſt North Wales, advanced himſelf to Murcaſtelh; the king of Scots, in concert with him, penetrated as far as Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants, as uſual, retired to the mountains, and by the prudent orders of their prince, having carried away their cattle and proviſions, ſuch a large army could not purſue them for want of ſubſiſtence, or from the natural difficulties of the country: the Engliſh parties who attempted to do it, were attacked by the Welſh in the defiles of the mountains, and were either cut to pieces or repulſed with great loſs.[q]

In this difficult ſituation, Henry had recourſe to the arts of negociation. The king of Scotland was made the firſt inſtrument in carrying on the deſign. He propoſed to Gryffydh ap Cynan, that if he would appear and yield himſelf up, he ſhould be taken into Henry's favour. But that prince, aware of the deluſive nature of ſuch promiſes, refuſed to lay down his Arms. The earl of Cheſter was then ſent to Gryffydh to procure, if poſſible, his ſubmiſſion to king Henry; and in order more effectually to promote the deſign, he inſinuated that Owen had already made his peace with that prince. Incenſed at the ſuppoſed

q Welſh Chron. p. 173.

perfidy

perfidy of his confederate, (for they had taken an oath that neither party ſhould make peace or ſubmiſſion without the conſent of the other) the king of North Wales agreed to lay down his arms, and to pay a large ſum of money to the king, as a compenſation, perhaps, for the ravages lately committed in Cheſhire. At the ſame time, Meredydh, under the pretence of treachery in the king of North Wales, brought over Owen his nephew. The means of intercourſe having been prevented by Meredydh, the two princes became the dupes of this artifice; and each of them made a ſeparate peace with the Engliſh king.[r] It gives us a ſtriking idea of the valour of the Welſh, and the exceeding difficulty of ſubduing their country by force, to ſee a prince, ſo potent as Henry the firſt, gloſſing over by a diſhonourable ſubterfuge, real diſgrace and diſappointment. For where was the advantage reſulting from the war? No homage or tribute appears to have been acknowledged or paid, nor any new territory obtained; no extermination of the inhabitants, as he proudly menaced; no new colonies eſtabliſhed in North Wales, or in Powis.

The buſy theatre of South Wales preſents, at this period, a new character.

Gryffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr, who, on the death of his father, had been conveyed for ſafety into

[r] Welſh Chron. p. 174.

Ireland,

Ireland, remained in that country till he was twenty-five years of age. Then, desirous of recovering the dignity which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed, he came privately into South Wales, under the pretence of viſiting Neſt his ſiſter, who ſome time before had been concubine to king Henry, and had borne two ſons to that monarch.[s] After her connection with Henry was at an end, Gerald de Windſor, a Gentleman of much eſtimation for his valour and conduct, then governor of Pembroke caſtle, obtained her in marriage; and, on that account, was appointed lieutenant over a part of that province. This was the ſame perſon, whoſe beauty had ſo lately excited Owen the ſon of Cadwgan to the act of violence already mentioned. With this lady, and his other relations, Gryffydh remained two years; but Henry's jealouſy did not allow this prince to continue long unmoleſted; ſuſpicions ariſing that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welſh, who conſidered him as the future deliverer of their country, and that his ſecret deſign was to recover his kingdom, orders were ſent to have him arreſted. When Gryffydh ap Rhys had intelligence of this deſign, he implored the protection of the king of NorthWales, who aſſured him, that for the friendſhip he had borne to his Father, he ſhould be cordially received, and remain ſecure within his dominions.[t] At the ſame time, Howel, the brother of the young prince, having been a long time a priſoner, made his eſcape out of the caſtle of Montgomery, and though ſorely

[s] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. cap. XII. ſays one ſon. Brady's Hiſt. Eng. reign of Henry I. p. 171, ſays two ſons. [t] Welſh Chron. p. 175.

O o maimed,

maimed, fled, as to a friendly aſylum, to the court of Gryffydh ap Cynan.[u]

Henry, having heard of theſe events, and dreading the effects if drawn into precedent, of the protection which had been yielded to Rhys[x] in North Wales, ſent a letter to Gryffydh ap Cynan, expreſſing in terms of courteſy and friendſhip, a deſire of ſeeing him in England. Pleaſed with the notice of ſo potent a monarch, he repaired to Henry's court, and was there received with honour and much hoſpitality, with the addition alſo of preſents in jewels and other things to a conſiderable amount: a reception likely to gratify either his avarice or his vanity. Having thus far prepared the way, king Henry, one day, laid open his deſign; repreſenting to Gryffydh the evils which might ariſe from giving protection to the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr, whoſe ambition was likely to diſturb the peace of all Wales; and offering, at the ſame time, the moſt ſplendid rewards, if he would ſend either the perſon or the head of the young prince into England.[y] A mind leſs ſavage than that of a barbarian muſt feel ſome reluctance, before it could reſolve to give up as a victim to the political views of Henry, an orphan who had ſought his protection. On this occaſion, however, the obligations of honour and of friendſhip, the feelings of humanity, with every idea of prudence and patriotiſm, were in a moment annihilated.

[u] Welſh Chron. p. 175 [x] Or hero. [y] Welſh Chron. p. 176.

THE

THE friends of Gryffydh ap Rhys, ſuſpecting ſome evil from the late ſingular proceedings, adviſed him and his his brother Howel to withdraw themſelves, that they might have an opportunity of obſerving the conduct of Gryffydh ap Cynan upon his return into Wales. That prince, as ſoon as he entered his palace, inquired for Gryffydh ap Rhys; but was informed he had retired from the court. Diſcovering the place of his retreat, the king then ſent out a body of horſe-men to take him priſoner, and conduct him back; but fortunately the young prince had notice of the deſign, and had juſt time to take ſanctuary in the church of Aberdaron.[z] The king of North Wales, having violated more ſacred laws, had no ſcruple to infringe the privileges of ſanctuary; and ordered Gryffydh ap Rhys to be taken out of his aſylum by force. In this unpopular attempt his authority had no weight; for the clergy of that country, eager to defend their immunities, ſo effectually reſiſted the endeavours of his ſoldiers, that they were not able to execute his orders. In the night, the young prince was ſecretly conveyed away by his friends to Stratywy, a deep foreſt in South Wales; where having collected the adherents of his family, he meditated hoſtilities againſt the Normans and Flemings.[a]

THE firſt enterpriſe of Gryffydh ap Rhys, was to burn and deſtroy ſeveral caſtles belonging to the Engliſh. But, Ann. Dom. 1116.

[z] Welſh Chron. p. 176. [a] Ibid.

 his

his forces increasing, he extended his ravages into Dyvet, and even menaced with a siege the castle of Caermarthen, which Henry had made the principal seat of government in that province. Those who had the charge of this fortress, judging their own strength insufficient to maintain the place, sent for the Welsh chieftains who were vassals to Henry, and, requiring each of them to defend it by turns for fourteen days, committed the castle to their custody. Owen the son of Caradoc, whose mother was daughter to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, was the first to undertake its defence. Gryffydh ap Rhys, having sent out spies to reconnoitre the situation of the place, suddenly invested it, being told the works were assailable. A shout which his troops set up as they advanced to the attack, gave Owen notice of his danger; upon which, that chief, depending on the support of his garrison, rushed forward to oppose the enemy; but being deserted, he was slain in the action, valiantly fighting upon the ramparts. The town was immediately taken and demolished; the castle was only dismantled. Then, Gryffydh, the young prince, retreated with considerable booty to his post in the woods of Stratywy; from whence he frequently issued with the fierceness of a tiger, and ravaged the country around.

The spoils his followers had lately obtained, and the fame which he himself had acquired, drew to his standard great numbers of young men, who, pleased with his activity and spirit, were in full confidence that he would soon re-

cover

cover his father's dominions. Thus reinforced, Gryffydh loſt no time in purſuing his ſucceſs, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of two fortreſſes more belonging to the Engliſh; one of which was the caſtle of Gwyr, and the other the property of William de Londres. After this enterpriſe, he again retired to his ſtrong ſituation with the cattle and plunder he had taken.

These ſucceſſes had conſiderably raiſed the reputation of Gryffydh ap Rhys, in conſequence of which, the chieftains of Caerdigan eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſubmitted to his government; looking up to him as the guardian of his country, and calling on him to free them from the odious and ignominious tyranny of foreigners. Much pleaſed with the invitation theſe chieftains had ſent him, he entered their territories, and was received by them with great cordiality and honour.[b] The proſperity of his arms was equal to the rapidity of his movements. He ſuddenly came to Caerdigan Iſcoed, and laid ſiege to a fortreſs, which the earl of Strigal had built at Blaen Porth Gwithan in that neighbourhood; after a ſevere conteſt and ſuſtaining many terrible aſſaults, though with the loſs only of one of his own men, the place was at length taken, and burned to the ground. As far as Penwedic the ſame devaſtation attended the deſerted houſes of the Engliſh inhabitants, who, ſtruck with diſmay, had fled from the fury of the Welſh. He

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 178.

then

then laid ſiege to a fortreſs called Stradpythylh, belonging to the ſteward of the earl of Strigal; which he took by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Advancing then to Glaſgrig, he there encamped to give his forces a day's reſt. Near this place was the church of Llanbadarn, one of thoſe ſanctuaries which poſſeſſed very high privileges, and in which the cattle, feeding within certain precincts, were regarded as ſacred.[c] Out of this aſylum he ventured to take ſome cattle to refreſh his army; an impolitic, though perhaps it might be a neceſſary meaſure, as it was likely to injure his own reputation with his contrymen, by wounding their religious feelings. He then propoſed on the following day to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. The governor, acquainted with the deſign, ſent to Stratmeyric, a neighbouring fortreſs, for a reinforcement, which during the night was ſafely conveyed into the caſtle.[d] Ignorant of this, Gryffydh ap Rhys preſerved no order among his troops, and confident of ſucceſs, appeared before the place; but being drawn into an ambuſcade laid for him by the governor, his forces were defeated with much ſlaughter, and compelled to quit that province.[e] He nevertheleſs continued for ſome time longer to maintain himſelf in the foreſt of Stratywy.[f]

[c] Welſh Chron. p. 179.

[d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. p. 180.

[f] Lord Littelton's Life of Henry II. vol. II. p. 61.

The

The conduct of this prince, which brightened his early life, promised to open with still greater lustre; but the disaster he had lately experienced, seems, on a sudden, to have given some check to his career, and to have cooled his enterprising spirit.

Henry, unable to subdue this prince by open hostilities, had recourse to measures, which could only be dictated by the most wicked and narrow principles. He sent orders to Owen the son of Cadwgan, one of the late princes of Powis, to repair to his court: on his arrival, the king expressed much confidence in his fidelity, and desired him, on strong assurances of recompence, to assassinate Gryffydh ap Rhys, or to take him prisoner. That chief, whose savage manners rendered him fit for such an employment, gladly accepted the commission. Returning into Wales, he engaged in the design Lhywarch ap Trahaern a chieftain of that country; and with their joint forces marched towards the forest of Stratywy, to form a junction with Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry by Nest his late concubine, whom the king his father had sent to give vigour to an enterprise, the design of which was the murder of his uncle. The ruffians being arrived on the confines of the forest, they bound themselves in a solemn engagement, not to suffer man, woman, or child, who inhabited that district, to escape alive out of their hands. The people of the country, hearing of this savage resolution, left their habi-

tations

tations to hide themſelves in caves and amidſt rocks and woods, while others ſought refuge even in the caſtles belonging to the Normans.

In order to facilitate their entrance into the foreſt, the approaches being narrow and difficult, the chiefs divided their force into ſeparate parties. Owen himſelf at the head of about a hundred men, entered the woods; in his way, perceiving the footſteps of men, he purſued and overtook them, killed ſome of their number, and diſperſed the reſt; then, ſeiſing on their cattle, he returned with his plunder towards the main body. At this moment, Gerald the governor of Pembroke caſtle, made his appearance, intending to join the king's forces. Meeting the people who had fled from Owen, they complained of the injury they had juſt received, and implored his aſſiſtance. In an inſtant the idea of revenge ruſhed on his mind, for the inſult his honour had received ſome years before, by the outrage which Owen had committed on his wife. He inſtantly entered the foreſt in purſuit of that chief, who, being warned by his followers of the approaching danger, refuſed to fly; confident that his purſuers intended him no injury, they, like himſelf, being vaſſals of the king of England. As ſoon as Gerald and his forces drew near, they diſcharged a volley of arrows. Owen, finding his miſtake, with much ſpirit, called on his men to ſupport him; telling them, that though their enemies were ſeven to one in number,

number, they were only Flemings, affrighted at the name of a Welſhman, and diſtinguiſhed by nothing but drinking deep at carouſals. In the firſt onſet Owen ap Cadwgan was ſlain; an arrow having pierced his heart. His death diſpirited his followers, who fled to the other part of the army; the tidings of this outrage gave them ſo great a diſtruſt of the king's forces that they diſperſed, and returned into their own country.[g]

In this manner died, ſuitably to the tenor of his life, this bold and profligate chieftain.

At this time, the Welſh, who inhabited Powis, revolted from their allegiance to Henry, and making inroads upon the marches, did there conſiderable miſchief; and alſo in Cheſhire, where they demoliſhed two caſtles.[h]

The Engliſh monarch, incenſed at their revolt, once more marched in perſon at the head of a powerful army into Wales.[h] When he arrived on the confines of Powis, Meredydh ap Bleddyn, and the three ſons of the late Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, implored the aſſiſtance of Gryffydh the king of North Wales. But this prince, eſtranged from the real intereſts of his country, and ſtill deluded by the artifice of Henry, refuſed to afford them any ſuccour, or to allow

Ann. Dom. 1122.

[g] Welſh Chron. p. 182.

[h] Simon Dunelme, p. 245. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 477. John Brompton, p. 1013. Theſe writers ſay, that in this expedition, the king penetrated as far as Snowdun.

them the liberty of entering into any part of his dominions; he being then, as he told them, at peace with that monarch.

On this refuſal, the Welſh chieftains diſpairing of other relief than what they might derive from their own ſpirit and exertions, prepared for their defence; and with much judgment ſtationed bodies of men to guard the different paſſes into the country. Henry, having ordered his army to take a larger circuit, that the conveyance of his carriages might be rendered more eaſy, entered himſelf with a few troops into a narrow defile. The Welſh, ſtationed in places of advantage, began to ſkirmiſh with their arrows, killing ſome, and wounding many of his party. An arrow accidentally ſhot from an unknown hand, ſtruck the king on the breaſt: he received little or no injury from the blow, the force of it being broken by the excellent temper of his *habergeon*, or coat of mail.[i] It was uncertain from whence the ſtroke proceeded; but Henry, the inſtant he felt it, ſwore by the "death of our Lord," his uſual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welſh but an Engliſh bow.[k] The danger he had ſo narrowly eſcaped made him deſirous of ending the war; in which a ſingle misfortune, in ſo wild a country, might ſully the renown he had formerly acquired. There was ſomething faſtidious in the idea, that

[i] Stowe's Chron. p. 140. Welſh Chron. p. 185.

[k] William Malmſbury, p. 158. Franctfort edit. Baker's Chron. p. 40.

the

the glory of Henry would be tarniſhed, by any check his arms might receive from the Welſh; a people, who, though rude, and deriving little ſplendor from alliances, or the extent or ſituation of their country, had yet baffled the various attempts, which a powerful nation like the Engliſh, had made againſt their liberties.

THE king, in this ſituation, entered into a negotiation with Meredydh the prince of Powis, who ſubmitted to give hoſtages, to pay a thouſand head of cattle, and a ſmall ſum of money as a compenſation for the treaſon committed in this inſurrection by himſelf, and by his nephews; on which terms, Henry very willingly granted to theſe princes pardon and peace; and returned into England, having appointed the lord Fitz Warren to be warden of the Ann. Dom. 1122.
marches.[k]

A SPIRIT of cruelty, which bordered upon frenzy, and which broke aſunder the ties of nature, at this period ſeiſed on the Ann. Dom. 1125. 1127. 1128.
different branches of the houſe of Powis; an effect produced by the cuſtom of gavel-kind, that fatal ſource from which the Welſh have taſted ſo deeply of the waters of bitterneſs.[l]

ABOUT this time, Gryffydh ap Rhys was ejected out of a certain diſtrict which had been aſſigned for his maintenance by king Henry, on a falſe accuſation brought

[k] Welſh Chron. p. 185, 186, 187. William Malmſbury, p. 159.
[l] Welſh Chron. p. 186, 187, 188.

 againſt

against him by the English, who were settled in his neighbourhood.[m] There was something both singular and cruel, in thus driving a prince into want, dependence and despair, in the very country of which he himself was the natural sovereign.

Ann. Dom. 1133. At this time died Meredydh prince of Powis, the last surviving son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; who, forsaking his own, and the true interests of his country, had long become a subject to the king of England.[n]

Soon after this event died Henry the first, and Stephen succeeded to the English crown.

Ann. Dom. 1135. The news of Henry's death, arriving in Wales, excited a general commotion: a spirit of revolt and hostility was instantly diffused. Even Gryffydh ap Cynan, who so long had deserted the dignity of his character, deluded by artifice, or influenced by a personal regard for the late king, joined in the common cause against the English. The insurrection began in the territory of Pembroke, and a very considerable body of Normans were cut in pieces. Animated with success, the insurgents over ran the whole country; putting to death all the foreigners wherever they came.[o]

[m] Welsh Chron. p. 187. [n] Ibid. p. 188.

[o] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63. taken from Gest. Reg. Step. p. 930, 931, 932. & Continuat. ad Flor. Wig. sub annos, 1135, 1136, 1137.

In

In the courſe of theſe events, Richard ſon of Gilbert de Clare, to whom the territory of Caerdigan had been given by Henry, was murdered by Jorwerth the brother of Morgan of Caer Lleon.

DURING theſe tranſactions, Gryffydh ap Rhys went into North Wales, to procure a body of troops from Gryffydh ap Cynan his father-in-law. In the abſence of that prince, his wife Gwenlian, a woman of a manly ſpirit, deſirous of aiding his generous deſigns, took the field in perſon at the head of her own forces, attended by her two ſons. This lady's ſucceſs was not equal to her gallant ſpirit. Her army was defeated not far from the caſtle of Cydweli, by Maurice de Londres, an Engliſh lord poſſeſſed of great property in the country; Morgan, one of her ſons was ſlain in the action, and her other ſon Maelgon taken priſoner; and the princeſs herſelf, it is ſaid, was beheaded by the orders of her brutal enemy. An action ſo ſavage, without precedent even in theſe times, called loudly for vengeance on the ſpirit of the injured princes.[q]

IN this ſtate of things, the province of Caerdigan was furiouſly attacked by Owen Gwynedh and Cadwalader, the

[p] Giraldus Cambrenſis. Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

[q] Giraldus Cambrenſis. Itin. lib. I. cap. IX. and alſo Dr. Powel's notes on the ſaid chapter. This circumſtance clearly contradicts the aſſertion of Florentius Monk of Weſtminſter, that Gwenlhian wife to Gryffydh ap Rhys, by deceitful practices, had been the cauſe of his death. See Welſh Chron. p. 190.

the

two elder sons of the king of North Wales.[q] Among a people, whose manners seem to have been little refined by ideas of chivalry, we are surprised at the appearance of two men, whose personal qualities, and whose courteous and gentle demeanour, might have entitled them to dispute the palm with the accomplished knights of the feudal ages.[r] These distinguished persons were the above-named sons of Gryffydh ap Cynan. As soon as the princes arrived in South Wales, several chieftains joined their army; being thus reinforced, they took and destroyed the castles of Aberystwyth,[s] Dinerth, and Caerwedross, and two other fortresses belonging to Walter Aspec, and Richard de la Mare; all of which were very strong, and well garrisoned. Having finished the campaign, so much to their glory, they returned into North Wales.[t]

Ann. Dom. 1136.

During the late expedition, two English barons were slain. And a little time after, in revenge, it is probable, of the late devastations, Ranulph earl of Chester made an inroad into Wales; but being on a sudden intercepted by the Welsh, it was with great difficulty, that he himself, with five only of his soldiers, were able to escape; the rest of his forces having been put to the sword.[u]

[q] Welsh Chron. p. 189. [r] Giraldus Cambrensis, lib. II. cap. XII.

[s] The word *Aber*, which frequently occurs in the Welsh history, signifies that point where a lesser river runs into a larger; or where a river discharges itself into the sea.

[t] Welsh Chron. p. 189. [u] Simon Dunelme, Continuata, p. 258, 259.

On

ON the close of the same year, the young princes Owen and Cadwalader, came a second time into South Wales, at the head of a formidable force; consisting of six thousand infantry, and two thousand horse, all of which were compleatly armed. The prosperous event of their late enterprise, with the desire of revenge, having excited Gryffydh ap Rhys[x] who had married their sister, and several chieftains in South Wales to join them with considerable supplies, they subdued the whole country as far as Aberteivi, the present town of Caerdigan; expelling the foreigners, and replacing the native inhabitants. To repel this formidable insurrection, the united force of the Normans, Flemings, and English in Wales or in the marches, was exerted, under the conduct of several powerful barons, who determined by one great effort to recover the territories lately torn from them, or at least, to preserve those parts which still remained.[y] These were the two sons of Gerald de Windsor, with Robert Fitzmartyn, and William Fitz John, besides Stephen the governor of Aberteivi; who, after the death of Gerald, had married Nest,[z] his widow.

THE courage of the Welsh had, in various situations, been terrible to their enemies: on this occasion, it seems to have been raised above the usual standard; fired with resent-

[x] Welsh Chron. p. 190. [y] Ibid. p. 189.

[z] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. I. p. 63.

ment

ment at the late outrage, and animated by the example of leaders, whose talents rendered them so fit for command. The English, after a severe and bloody conflict, were defeated, with the loss of three thousand men; and flying to their castles for safety, were so closely pursued, that many prisoners were taken, and great numbers drowned in the Teivy; a bridge across that river having been broken down, over which they were obliged to pass.[a] Never before had the English, in their various attempts upon Wales, received so terrible a blow. Having finished another prosperous campaign, the two young princes returned into North Wales; carrying with them, to grace their triumph, the horses and armour, and the rich spoils they had taken.[b]

In the course of these events, the sister of the earl of Chester, who, after the murder of her husband, Richard de Clare, had retired to one of his castles, was besieged by the Welsh in that fortress. The situation of this lady was truly deplorable. She was invested by an irritated enemy, and in want of provisions; the English were nearly all slain, or expelled out of the country; her brother was at a distance, and so employed in defending his own territories, that he could not afford her any timely relief: and, what contributed to render her situation still more wretched, she had reason to expect every hour a fate, which she might

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 189. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

[b] British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

deem,

deem more cruel than death itſelf, the Welſh, like many other nations, having taken their female captives, even thoſe of the higheſt rank, to be their concubines.[c] In this dreadful ſtate, Milo Fitz Walter, who, by right of his wife the daughter of Bernard de Newmarche, was the lord of Brecknock, received orders from king Stephen to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſet at liberty the unfortunate counteſs. There was ſo much difficulty and danger in the enterpriſe, that its ſucceſs appeared almoſt impoſſible. A generous pity, which a brave mind ever feels for weakneſs in diſtreſs, and the gallant ſpirit of chivalry, made him however attempt, at every hazard, to deliver the lady out of danger. He loſt no time, therefore, in marching, with a choſen body of troops, through ways which were leaſt frequented; traverſing along the tops of mountains and through the deep woods of the country; at length having had the good fortune to arrive at the caſtle, unſeen by the Welſh, he carried away the counteſs of Clare, and all her retinue.[d] An action ſo gallant and humane, equals many of the fanciful deſcriptions which are found in romance, and proves ſuch pictures to have borne ſome reſemblance to the manners of the age.

c Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. p. 64. Cadwalader, one of theſe princes, afterwards married the daughter of this counteſs of Clare. Hiſt. Gwedir. p. 5.

d Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. II. p. 64. from Girald. Cambrenſis. Itin. Cam. cap. II. lib. I.

But we ſee not on this occaſion, the ſame gallantry of ſpirit in Owen and Cadwalader; nor in ſome other parts of their ſubſequent conduct, though theſe princes, it is ſaid, were highly diſtinguiſhed for humanity and courteous manners.[e]

Ann. Dom. 1137. In this year, Gryffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr prince of South Wales died; cloſing with his life a ſeries of gallant actions, which reflected back the luſtre he had received from a long line of anceſtry.[f]

Soon after the proſperous campaign which his ſons had made in South Wales, Gryffydh ap Cynan died at the age of eighty-two, and was buried on the ſouth ſide of the great altar in the church of Bangor.[g] This prince had three ſons and five daughters by his wife Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield. The names of the three ſons were Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwalhon; the latter of whom was ſlain before the death of his father.[h] He had likewiſe five other children by another woman.[i]

In ſuch a country as North Wales, where ſo many cauſes conſpired to render its government unſtable, and the enjoyment of it often fatal to the ſovereign, that the late prince ſhould have been able to extend his reign to fifty years,

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 189. [f] Ibid. p. 190.
[g] Vita. Griff. fil. Conani.
[h] Welſh Chron. p. 191. Hiſt. Gwyder family, p. 1. [i] Welſh Chron. p. 191.

is an extraordinary inſtance of good fortune, and a proof of his poſſeſſing conſiderable abilities. The love of freedom, which diſtinguiſhed the early part of his life, infuſed the ſame ſpirit among his ſubjects, which led them to diſdain the ignominious yoke impoſed on them by a foreign power. His valour, and abilities, aiding their returning virtue, delivered his country from the vaſſalage of England; and, in general, by his conduct with Henry, or by the vigour of his government, he preſerved his dominions free from the invaſions of the Engliſh, and from civil commotions. The recital of theſe virtues, which form the ſhining features of his character, is no more than a juſt eulogium on his memory. But other impreſſions appear on the reverſe of the medal, expreſſive of a conduct which is neither amiable nor great. A juſt policy required him to unite in the common cauſe, as to one central point, the jarring intereſts which prevailed in the other principalities; and the importance of his ſituation and character, obliged him to conſider himſelf as the great ſpring, which was to give life and vigour, and efficacy to the exertions of the whole. He ought to have known that the conqueſt of Wales was a leading principle in the politics of England, that the princes of that country would never ceaſe to exert every effort of ſagacity and power, until their ambition had been ſatiated by the conqueſt, or the entire deſtruction of the Welſh. Impreſſed with ideas ſuch as theſe, he ought to have regarded every offer of friendſhip, made by the

English monarch, as a delusive snare to his honour: and at every gift, he ought to have exclaimed in the natural language of distrust, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* But influenced by a personal regard to Henry, or by motives of a baser nature, he was led to prefer a selfish and solitary peace with the English, to the more generous and manly conduct of sharing in the common danger, and of attempting to preserve the general freedom of his country, by uniting its strength. He was prevented, indeed, by his tedious captivity in Chester, from taking an active part, in impeding the conquests which the English were making in South Wales; nor is it just to suppose, that in that early period of his life, he could be cold or uninterested in the fatal scene that was acting before him. The same plea, however, cannot justify another part of his conduct. Instead of giving security to Powis, a barrier of such importance to his kingdom, he left the princes of that country, on its being invaded by Henry, to abide their fate; refusing, under a cold pretence, to afford them protection or relief. These traits of his character, with a desire of sacrificing to the jealousy of the English king an orphan prince, who had sought his protection, and whose birth and talents might have rendered him the instrument of his country's safety, evince, that the conduct of Gryffydh ap Cynan was not entirely directed by the principles of honour, or humanity, or of a solid and extensive policy.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN TO THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH.

ON the death of Gryffydh ap Cynan, his dominions, agreeably to the cuſtom of the country, were divided among his ſons. His eldeſt ſon, Owen, ſurnamed Gwynedh, under the newly adopted title of prince, ſucceeded as ſovereign of North Wales. Ann. Dom. 1137.

THIS active prince, in confederacy with his brothers, began his reign by a third expedition into South Wales, with the ſame fortunate iſſue which had heretofore followed his arms; deſtroying in his progreſs the caſtles of Stradmeyric, Stephens, and Humfreys, and burning to the ground the town of Caermarthen;[k] then retaining in his poſſeſſion all Caerdigan,

[k] Welſh Chron. p. 193.

and

and obliging the inhabitants of Dyvet to pay him tribute, he returned into his own dominions in high reputation.[l]

The ſeries of proſperity which of late had attended the Welſh princes, might in ſome meaſure be owing to the embarraſſed ſituation of Stephen king of England. This prince, engaged in continual hoſtilities, and in ſupporting a doubtful title, had neither inclination nor leiſure to intereſt himſelf in affairs, in which he himſelf had no immediate concern, and which were tranſacted in ſo remote a part of the iſland. In conſequence of which, he concluded a peace with the Welſh, and allowed them to retain the territories they had lately recovered free of homage or tribute; at leaſt it does not appear that either the one or the other was ever paid, during his reign, by any of the princes of Wales.[m]

An incident aroſe at this time, affording an example of ſavage manners, which proved fatal to the parties concerned, and had nearly involved the ſtate in the ſame ruin. Anarawd the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, had married the daughter of Cadwalader, the brother of Owen prince of North Wales. A violent diſpute having ariſen between the father and the ſon-in-law, they decided the conteſt by a ſingle combat. In this rencounter the latter prince was ſlain. Owen was

Ann. Dom. 1142.

[l] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

[m] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 66.

ſo

ſo incenſed at this action of his brother, that he, with his ſon Howel, invaded the territories of that prince, ſet on fire his caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, laid waſte the country, and obliged him to fly into Ireland; but ſoon engaging in his ſervice ſome chieftains, and a large body of forces, he landed at Abermenai in Caernarvonſhire. Owen Gwynedh oppoſed this invaſion with a powerful army, but before any action had taken place, a peace was concluded between the brothers; which ſo incenſed the Iriſh, that they detained Cadwalader, as a ſecurity till they had received their ſtipulated pay. That prince, to recover his liberty, gave them two thouſand head of cattle. As ſoon as the prince of Wales heard that his brother was at liberty, he ſuddenly attacked the Iriſh, ſlew great numbers of them, and recovered the cattle which had been given by Cadwalader, with the priſoners alſo and other ſpoils they had taken in the country.[n] Ann. Dom. 1142.

Soon after this expedition, Howel and Cynan the ſons of Owen Gwynedh made another inroad into South Wales, gave the Normans, who oppoſed them, an overthrow, and took poſſeſſion of the town of Aberteivi or Caerdigan.[o]

This was ſucceeded by an attempt made by Gilbert de Clare earl of Pembroke, to recover thoſe territories which, it is probable, Stephen in the late treaty had ceded to the Welſh. With this view he came with a large army into

[n] Welſh Chron. p. 197. [o] Ibid. p. 198.

Dyvet,

Dyvet, and rebuilt the caſtle of Caermarthen, and another fortreſs.[p] To defeat the deſign, Cadelh the ſon of the late Gryffydh ap Rhys, laid ſiege to, and won, the caſtle of Dinevawr. Then, joining his forces with thoſe of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they inveſted the caſtle of Caermarthen, which was ſoon given up on condition that the lives of the garriſon ſhould be ſpared.[q] This advantage encourged them to appear before the caſtle of Llanſtephan, in Caermarthenſhire, to the relief of which came a large body of the enemy; but ſucceſs ſtill attending on the arms of the Welſh, the Normans were defeated and the fortreſs was taken. The Normans and Flemings who inhabited that country, under the conduct of the ſons of Gerald and William de Hay, in hopes of recovering the caſtle, ſuddenly inveſted it; Meredydh the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, to whoſe cuſtody the fortreſs was committed, defended it with great valour, and with equal ability; for having ſuffered the enemy to ſcale the walls, on a ſudden, when the ladders were crowded with ſoldiers, he cauſed them to be overturned by the means of engines he had previouſly provided.
Ann. Dom. 1143. This diſcomfiture, with the loſs they had ſuſtained, obliged the Normans to raiſe the ſiege.[r]

An affliction of a private nature, the ſudden death of Rhun,[s] a favourite though an illegitimate ſon, fell at this

[p] Welſh Chron. p. 198.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Ibid. p. 226.

time

time on Owen prince of North Wales. In the bitterneſs of his ſorrow, the afflicted father gave himſelf up to ſolitude and to tears. But the deſire of aſſiſting the operations ſo ſuccesſfully begun in South Wales, as well as the importance of the object, reviving the ſpirit of an active and a gallant prince, he determined to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Mold, in Flintſhire. That fortreſs, ſituated on the Welſh frontier, was exceedingly ſtrong, and had within it a numerous garriſon of Engliſh; who frequently ſallying out, much infeſted the adjacent country. It had been frequently beſieged by the Welſh, but on account of its ſtrength and warlike appointments, every attempt had hitherto proved unſuccesful. The place was at this time inveſted by Owen; the garriſon with great intrepidity ſuſtained many terrible aſſaults; at length, the Welſh, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, bore down every reſiſtance, and entered the caſtle by ſtorm. Having taken priſoners all who had eſcaped the ſword, prince Owen levelled to the ground the walls of that fortreſs; in doing which he gave no proof of his military ſagacity, ſuch a place being evidently of importance, as a check to the inroads of the Engliſh on the frontier of his dominions. The glory of this atchievement ſo raiſed his ſpirits, that he ſoon forgot his ſorrows, and recovered the uſual tone of his mind, as well as a reliſh for his former amuſements.[t]

[t] Welſh Chron. p. 199.

At this time, the ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys laid ſiege to the caſtle of Gwys in South Wales; but finding their force unequal to the enterpriſe, they deſired the aſſiſtance of Howel, the ſon of Owen Gwynedh, whoſe talents for the council or the field were high in the eſteem of his country. The young prince, eager for glory, joined the three lords before Gwys; having reconnoitered the place, he cauſed engines to be made to batter its walls, and to annoy the ſoldiers by throwing large ſtones into the caſtle. Preparations ſo formidable, and probably ſo novel, intimidated the garriſon, who inſtantly ſurrendered the fort. After this exploit the young prince returned into his own country.[u]

Ann. Dom. 1145.

A dissention having ariſen between Howel and Cynan, the ſons of Owen Gwynedh, and Cadwalader their uncle, the young princes led a body of troops into Mierionedh. The terror of this inroad cauſed the inhabitants to fly into ſanctuary; the princes proclaimed, that no injury was intended to any perſon who ſubmitted to their authority; which made the people, accuſtomed to a change of maſters, quietly to return to their own habitations. They then inveſted the caſtle of Cynvael, erected by Cadwalader, and left by that chieftain to the cuſtody of the Abbot of Tygwyn. Neither menaces, nor offers of rewards, could ſhake the fidelity of this warlike prieſt; he defended the place with

[u] Welſh Chron. p. 200.

great

great intrepidity, until the walls of the caſtle were beaten down, and all the garriſon were either wounded or ſlain; he then made his eſcape by means of ſome friends which he had in the enemies army.[x] Some time after, another of his fortreſſes was taken by his nephew Howel, his territory wreſted from him, and Cadwalader himſelf imprisoned.[y] Ann. Dom. 1148.

Animosity againſt the Engliſh, and the ſame gallantry of ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed the father, animated the ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys. Cadelh, one of the ſons of that prince, having fortified the caſtle of Caermarthen, iſſued from thence with a body of troops, and marched to Cydwely in Caermarthenſhire, the country about which he ravaged and laid waſte; then, joining his forces with thoſe of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they entered into Caerdiganſhire, and ſubdued a part of that diſtrict.[z]

The incidents of this reign have been hitherto confined to enterpriſes of no national importance. But a tranſaction aroſe at this time, which in ſome meaſure menaced the ſafety of the ſtate, and called into excerciſe the talents of the prince of North Wales. To recover the honour which Ranulph earl of Cheſter had loſt by his diſcomfiture, a few years ago, in Wales, this lord meditated a formidable

x Welſh Chron. p. 201. y Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 168.
z Welſh Chron. p. 202.

invasion of the country.[a] Besides his own vassals, he collected from different parts of England a large body of troops. He engaged likewise in the design Madoc ap Meredydh, at this time the prince of Powis, who disdaining to hold his lands under the sovereignty of North Wales, joined the arms of the earl of Chester; and the two leaders, with their united forces, entered the dominions of Owen Gwynedh. As soon as this prince had heard of the invasion, he advanced into Flintshire, to give the enemy the meeting at Counsyllt, on the confines of his kingdom. This movement, as rapid as it was bold, infused a spirit into his army, and secured his own territories from the devastations of war. Contrary to the usual custom of the Welsh, of scarcely ever risquing a general engagement, or of attacking an enemy unless in situations of advantage, Owen, availing himself of the ardour of his troops, faced the English and offered them battle, though their forces were superior to his own in numbers, and had also the advantage from the nature of their arms. The fortune of the day decided in favour of the Welsh, who so entirely discomfited the English, that few remained to witness their disgrace; except those who were taken prisoners, and the leaders of Ann. Dom. 1150. the army, who escaped the fury of the pursuit by the swiftness of their horses.[b]

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 197. [b] Ibid. p. 202. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

THOUGH

Though urged to a different conduct, by every motive of prudence, Cadelh, Meredyth and Rhys the sons of Gryffydh ap Rhys, invaded Caerdigan, which belonged to Howel the son of the prince of North Wales, and subdued the whole of that territory, except a single fortress in Pengwern. The loss of the bravest of their soldiers, which they sustained at the siege of Lhanrystyd castle, so irritated the young princes, that when they gained possession of it, they put the garrison to the sword. From thence they proceeded to the castle of Ystrat-Meyric, which, after they had taken, they fortified with new works; the princes, then, disbanding their forces, returned into South Wales.[c]

Cadelh, the eldest of these lords, being fond of the pleasures of the chace, engaged in a hunting party to amuse himself after the toils of the late expedition. As soon as this prince had begun his diversion, the inhabitants of Tenby, having conceived some displeasure against him, suddenly attacked his party, and, unarmed as they were, easily put them to flight. Cadelh himself, sorely wounded, escaped with difficulty to his house, where he languished a considerable time. In revenge of this treatment, his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, entered the territory of Gwyr; and having laid waste the country, they made themselves masters of the castle of Aberlhychwr, which they levelled to the ground; they then returned into their own territories,

[c] Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 170.

loaded

loaded with much plunder, and rebuilt the caſtle of Dinevawr, the ancient palace of their anceſtors. Some time after, the two princes laid ſiege to Penwedic caſtle, belonging to prince Howel, of which, after ſome difficulty, they gained poſſeſſion; then inveſting the caſtle of Tenby in the night, they took that fortreſs by eſcalade, before the garriſon was aware of any danger; obtaining revenge, by this laſt exploit, for the injury their brother had lately received.[d]

The cuſtom of Aſiatic ſovereigns, of exterminating the younger branches of their family, was too frequently adopted by the Welſh princes; tinging more deeply by ſuch a cruel meaſure, the native barbariſm of their manners. Cadwalhon the brother of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, having been aſſaſſinated, in the late reign, in revenge of ſeveral murders which he had committed, left a ſon of the name of Cynetha, the undoubted heir to his territories. To render his nephew incapable of aſſerting his rights, Owen had the barbarity to pull out his eyes; and refining on a ſavage and a deteſted policy, he alſo cauſed him to be caſtrated, that no heirs in future might lay claim to his territories, or retaliate the injuries this prince had received.[e] An action ſo atrocious, and not to be extenuated even by the rudeneſs of theſe times, throws a deep ſhade over the cha-

Ann. Dom. 1151.

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 203. [e] Ibid.

racter

racter of a prince, who, in other respects was a friend to his country, and of an amiable and a gallant spirit.

At this time, Cadwalader made his escape out of prison, having been long kept in confinement by Howel, his nephew; and flying into Anglesey, he brought a great part of that island under his subjection. The prince of North Wales, hearing of his brother's escape, and the prosperous situation of his affairs, sent against him a body of troops, which proving too formidable, that prince was obliged to fly into England, to solicit assistance from the relations of his wife, a daughter of the house of Clare.[f]

At this time died Meredydh the son of Gryffydh ap Rhys of South Wales. Ann. Dom. 1153.

Soon after this event, died likewise Stephen the king of England; and Henry the second succeeded to the throne.[g] Ann. Dom. 1154.

While the Welsh princes were wasting the national force in mutual hostilities, the Flemings, who had settled as a colony in South Wales, acquired an accession of strength. One of the first acts in the government of king Henry, relating to Wales, was to banish out of England the Flemish soldiers, who had followed the fortunes of Stephen; and, possessing sound principles of political wisdom, he

[f] Memoirs of Gwedyr family, p. 5. Welsh Chron. p. 203. [g] Ibid. p. 204.

gave

gave permiſſion to theſe foreigners, to ſettle among their countrymen in the province of Pembroke.[h]

Several cauſes conſpired, with the motives of ambition and glory, in engaging the king of England, to employ at this time, the utmoſt exertion of his power, in attempting the conqueſt of Wales. Madoc ap Meredydh, the prince of Powis, conſcious of having joined the enemies of his country, and dreading the reſentment which that conduct had excited in the breaſt of Owen Gwynedh, endeavoured, as a means of his future ſecurity, to incite the Engliſh king to the invaſion of North Wales. Cadwalader, likewiſe, ſince the fatal iſſue of the combat with his nephew, having been treated with ſeverity by his brother Owen, and by the ſons of that prince, had fled into England; and in that court, had employed in proſecution of the ſame deſign, his own ſolicitations, with the powerful intereſt of the houſe of Clare.[i] The glory to be acquired, and the importance of the object, with the apparent facility of the enterpriſe from the defection of ſuch powerful princes, determined Henry to exert every means, which his great power afforded, for the conqueſt of the country.

Ann. Dom. 1157. With this deſign, he collected out of different parts of England, a formidable army, with which he marched to Cheſter; then advancing into Flintſhire, he encamped

[h] Welſh Chron. p. 205. [i] Ibid. p. 206.

his

his forces on a marſh called Saltney, which borders upon the Dee. Prince Owen, with his uſual activity, advancing to the frontiers of his dominions, took poſt at Baſingwerk near Holywell in Flintſhire. In this ſituation he waited the approach of the Engliſh. The boldneſs of the movement encouraged Henry to hope, that the Welſh prince intended to riſque a general engagement. Agreeably to this idea, he diſpatched a choſen body of troops under the command of ſeveral barons of diſtinction, with the deſign of bringing the Welſh to an action, or of diſlodging them from their poſt. This party, in paſſing through the woody and broken country of Coed Eulo, near Hawarden, was attacked by David and Cynan the two ſons of Owen, who, with a body of forces, had lain in ambuſh to intercept them. The ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity of the onſet, with the unuſual difficulties of their ſituation, ſo intimidated the Engliſh, that they fled in great diſorder, and with much ſlaughter, to the main body of the army.[k] Alarmed at the danger, as well as mortified by the diſgrace, the king of England broke up his camp, and marched along the ſea ſhore to the town of Flint; intending by this manœuvre, to deceive the Welſh prince by leaving him upon the right, and by a nearer road to penetrate into the interior parts of the country. But in paſſing through a long and narrow defile at Counſyllt, he was intercepted by Owen.

[k] Welſh Chron. p. 206.

THE design was conducted with temper and judgment. The English were permitted to enter unmolested so far into the strait, as to render their advance or retreat both difficult and dangerous. The Welsh, then, rushing with terrible outcries from out of the woods, assaulted them with stones, arrows, and other missile weapons. Struck with dismay, encumbered with heavy armour, and unaccustomed to fight in such situations, the English were again thrown into the utmost disorder, being unable either to retreat, or to resist so unexpected an onset.[l] In the confusion, Henry himself was obliged to fly; Eustace Fitz John, and Robert de Courcy, with other noblemen of distinction were slain.[m]

THE few of the vanguard who had escaped the sword, fell back upon the main body advancing in regular order to the entrance of the defile. A rumour instantly prevailed of the death of the king; and the earl of Essex, hereditary standard bearer of England, seised with the general terror, threw to the ground the royal standard; at the same time crying aloud "the king is slain." The terror then became universal.[n] The Welsh, perceiving their disorder, attacked the English with such impetuosity, that a general rout must have ensued, if at this moment the king, at length extricated from his perilous situation,

[l] Welsh Chron. p. 207. Holinshead's Chron. p. 67. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. cap. X. lib. II.

[m] Stowe's Chron. p. 149.

[n] Holinshead's Chron. p. 67. Chronica Gervasii, p. 1380.

had

had not made himſelf known to the army, by throwing up his helmet. His preſence in an inſtant changed the ſcene. The Engliſh, acquiring freſh ardour from the gallantry of their prince, who with alacrity led them on to the charge, gave a check to the Welſh forces, and drove them back into the woods.[o]

The prince of Wales, after this check, retired to a poſt near St. Aſaph called from this event *Cil Owen* or Owen's retreat. On the nearer approach of the king, Owen retired to Bryn-y-Pin a ſtronger poſt ſituated five miles weſt of St. Aſaph.[p] At the ſame time, by the orders of Henry, an Engliſh fleet, which he had aſſembled at Cheſter, infeſted the coaſt of North Wales. The king of England meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced to Rhuddlan, where he erected a houſe for the knights templars; a new kind of military garriſon in Wales, and appointed, no doubt, for a purpoſe ſimilar to the original inſtitution of that order in Paleſtine. He, likewiſe, more ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of that town, with the fortreſs at Baſingwerk; and that he might ſecure the conqueſts he had made, by rendering more eaſy the marching of armies, he cut down the woods, and conſtructed new roads through that province.[q] Owen did not remain an indifferent ſpectator of tranſactions ſo inimical to the in-

[o] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67.

[p] Stowe's Chron. p. 149. A manuſcript copy in Welſh of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

[q] Math. Paris, p. 81. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 159.

terests of his country. He descended frequently from his post on the hill, to skirmish with the king's troops, and to molest them in their designs;[r] but no general action ensued; the two princes had been taught prudence by their past experience, and did not chuse to risque the fate of their separate armies by engaging in improper situations. At the same time, the English fleet under the conduct of Madoc ap Meredydh, made a descent on the island of Anglesey, ravaged a part of the country, and plundered two churches: on returning to their ships, the party was attacked by the whole strength of the island, and entirely cut in pieces. Dismayed with the fate of their associates, the English fleet weighed anchor, and sailed back to Chester.[s] Owen derived no advantage from this fortunate incident, as the English were in force, and strongly fortified in the maritime parts of Flintshire. The wise measure likewise which Henry had employed in having a fleet on the coast of Wales, gave the Welsh prince reason to fear that his army, cooped up in the interior parts of the country, might be in danger of perishing for want of necessary sustenance, as his kingdom had been accustomed to receive from foreign countries a great part of its provisions. These motives, cogent as they may be, will scarcely justify Owen, as a magnanimous and independent

[r] Manuscript of Caradoc ut supra. Stow's Chron. ibid.

[s] Welsh Chron. p. 207. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. lib. II. cap. VII. William Newburgh, lib. II. cap. V. Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

sovereign,

ſovereign, in concluding a peace with the king of England, upon terms ſo diſhonorable to himſelf and to his country. By this treaty, he and his chieftains ſubmitted to do homage to Henry,[t] to yield up thoſe caſtles and diſtricts in North Wales, which in the late reign had been won from the Engliſh;[u] to take Cadwalader his brother into favour, and to reſtore him his territories.[x] But what contributed ſtill more to complete the humiliating ſcene, he was obliged to deliver two of his ſons as pledges of his future obedience.[y]

Thus have we ſeen the Welſh nation, by a ſolemn act of their ſovereign, and by the means of an Engliſh fleet, reduced a ſecond time to a dependence on the crown of England. If the long and gallant reſiſtance which this people had made for freedom, againſt a power ſo very unequal, excite our admiration and wonder, we ſhall be no leſs ſurpriſed that a nation like the Engliſh, ſo much farther advanced in political wiſdom, ſhould not have been able ſooner to terminate the conteſt.

The year after this important event, a general peace took place between England and Wales.[z] The princes and all the chieftains of South Wales repaired to the court of England; where Henry granted them peace, on the terms Ann. Dom. 1158.

[t] Brompton's Chron. p. 1048. [u] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 159.
[x] Welſh Chron. p. 208. [y] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 79.
[z] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

of

of doing homage for their own territories, and on their ceding to him thoſe diſtricts which in the late reign had been recovered from the Engliſh.[a]

Rhys ap Gryffydh ap Rhys, the immediate heir to the ſovereign dignity in South Wales, was not included in the general pacification.

Animated with the ſame ſpirit which had heretofore diſtinguiſhed his family, this prince was not willing tamely to yield up to ambitious foreigners a ſovereignty which had deſcended to him through a long line of anceſtry. Under the juſt fears that Henry would employ his force againſt him, he commanded his vaſſals to remove their goods and cattle into the foreſt of Tywy, from whence unſupported by any confederate, he made war againſt the Engliſh.[b]

Pleased with his gallant ſpirit, or afraid of his power, Henry ſent him an invitation to his court, under the aſſurance of a gracious reception; but threatened, at the ſame time, if he refuſed the friendly offer, that the whole force of England and of Wales ſhould be employed to convey him thither.[c]

The high ſpirit of the Welſh prince was obliged to ſubmit to ſo alarming a ſummons, and by the advice of his

[a] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 80.

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 208. [c] Ibid.

friends

friends he repaired to Henry's court, where having done homage, and given up two of his ſons[d] as hoſtages for his fidelity, the diſtrict of Cantrev Mawr, the ancient demeſne of his family, was promiſed him.[e] But contrary to that promiſe, the king gave him only ſome lordſhips, and other lands remote from each other, and intermixed with the eſtates of the Engliſh; with the deſign, no doubt, by ſuch a diſpoſition of his property, to render his power leſs dangerous. Neceſſity obliged Rhys to ſit down in quiet under ſuch unjuſt and mortifying treatment.[f]

The ſituation of this prince, though little to be envied, ſoon excited the rapacious ſpirit of Walter Clifford, and another Engliſh lord; who making an inroad into his territories, ſlew many of his vaſſals, and returned home loaded with ſpoils. Rhys ſent immediate intelligence to the king of this tranſaction, deſiring ſatisfaction for the injury he had received. But Henry, partial to the conduct of his Engliſh ſubjects, and regarding with a jealous eye the intereſts of the Welſh, paid no other attention to his complaints, than to give him unmeaning aſſurances of redreſs. Incenſed at a conduct ſo faithleſs, Rhys threw off his allegiance, determined that his ſword ſhould do him that

[d] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 81. The like ſecurity was exacted from all the other Welſh chiefs and princes.

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 208. [f] Ibid.

juſtice,

juſtice, which had been denied him by the Engliſh king;[g] he inſtantly laid ſiege to the caſtle of Llandovery in Caermarthenſhire, of which he ſoon gained poſſeſſion. At the ſame time Eineon nephew to the Welſh prince, alike eager to throw off the ignominious yoke, flew to arms, regarding the oath of allegiance which his uncle had taken as diſſolved, the obligation on the part of the king, of doing juſtice and affording protection, not having been obſerved. He inveſted the caſtle of Humfrey, which he took by ſtorm, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In this fortreſs, he found a number of horſes and implements of war ſufficient to equip a conſiderable body of men. Rhys, likewiſe, with equal rapidity and ſucceſs, over-ran the whole country of Caerdigan, which he ſoon brought under his ſubjection after having levelled to the ground every fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh.[h]

Henry regarded this revolt of ſufficient importance to demand his preſence in South Wales, and entered that country by the ſea coaſt of Glamorgan and Gwyr; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was under the neceſſity of giving up the enterpriſe, and returned into his own dominions through Eleneudh and Meleneudh;[i] leaving Rhys in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts, on no other condition than that of giving hoſtages for the preſervation of the peace

[g] Dr. Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambren. Itin. lib. I. cap. X.

[h] Welſh Chron. p. 209.

[i] Giraldus Cambrenſis, lib. II. cap. X.

during

during his abſence in Normandy.[k] Thus did the prince of South Wales, deſerted by all his confederates, baffle the efforts of a mighty monarch.

THE conduct of Rhys in the following year, by making a ſudden inroad into Dyvet, though only contending for his own rights, yet threw ſome ſtain upon his honour, as it was likely to expoſe the hoſtages[l] in Henry's hands to the cruel treatment uſual in theſe times. Having laid ſiege to Caermarthen, the earl of Briſtol natural ſon to Henry, with the earl of Clare and Cadwalader his brother-in-law, beſides two other barons, came to the relief of that place. Howel and Cynan, the ſons of the prince of North Wales, joined in the unnatural alliance. Unable to reſiſt ſo formidable an oppoſition, Rhys retreated to the mountains of Cefn Reſter, in which ſtrong poſt he remained in ſecurity. The confederate army, encamping for ſome time at Dynwylhir, built there a caſtle; after which, having no intelligence of Rhys ap Gryffydh, they broke up their camp, and returned to their reſpective countries.[m]

Ann. Dom. 1159.

IN this year died at Wincheſter Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powis, and was buried at Myvod, in Montgomeryſhire, the uſual burial place of that houſe. After his death that principality, one half of which called Powis Vadoc,

Ann. Dom. 1160.

[k] Welſh Chron. p. 209. [l] Brompton's Chron. p. 1059.
[m] Welſh Chron. p. 210.

he had held entire,[n] underwent ſeveral diviſions by the cuſtom of gavel-kind, and was never again united under one ſovereign. This prince left three ſons Gryffydh Maelor, Owen, and Eliſe, beſides a daughter, by Suſannah his wife, who was the daughter of Gryffydh ap Cynan; he had, alſo, Owen Brogynton, and two other ſons who were illegitimate, all of whom ſhared, agreeably to the cuſtom of Wales, the paternal inheritance. Likewiſe Owen his nephew the ſon of Gryffydh ap Meredydh, ſtiled Owen Cyveilioc, had a diſtrict afterwards called by that name, which contained near half of Powis.[o] The ſovereignty of England was acknowledged by all theſe princes.

Ann. Dom. 1163. HENRY being returned from Normandy, and having reduced the other Welſh princes to his obedience, turned all his attention to the affairs of South Wales, and to the hoſtilities lately committed againſt him by Rhys ap Gryffydh. That prince, ſtill remaining unſubdued, had, during Henry's abſence, continually infeſted the adjacent country, from his ſtrong poſt on the mountains of Brecknock, encouraged by ſome prophecies then current in Wales, that the king would never return into England.[p] Incenſed at the frequent violations of the peace, Henry invaded South Wales, and advancing as far as Pencadaer, received the ſubmiſſion of Rhys; who, deſpairing of being able any longer

[n] Welſh Chron. p. 210, 211. [o] Ibid.

[p] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 152.

to

to refift his power, a fecond time did him homage, and delivered up hoftages likewife for his future fidelity.[q] This ceremony was performed the year following at Woodftock, where Rhys, attended by the other princes and chieftains in Wales, did homage to the Englifh king, and to Henry his fon.[r]

The next year Rhys gained poffeffion of Cantrev Mawr and the lands of Dinevawr. He then invaded the country of Caerdigan, which he eafily brought under his fubjection, making himfelf mafter of the caftle of Aberheidol and another fortefs; to revenge the death of his nephew Eineon, who had lately been murdered in his own houfe, by the inftigation, as was fuppofed, of the earl of Gloucefter.[s] Eager to recover the honours of his family, and receiving, no doubt, an additional incentive from the place where he then refided, which had been the feat of his ancefters, Rhys carried his arms into Pembroke, ravaged the lands of the Flemings, and then returned to his caftle of Dinevawr, loaded with fpoils, and high in the efteem of his country.[t] Ann. Dom. 1164.

Fired by his gallant example, a fpirit of revolt fprung up in Wales. With great judgment this prince, during the winter, either by his deputies, or in perfon, had conferences with the different princes. He called up their fleeping

[q] Welfh Chron. p. 220.

[r] V. Diceto. Ymag. Hift. fub Ann. 1163. Math. Paris, p. 84.

[s] Wynne's Hift. Wales, p. 189.

[t] Welfh Chron. p. 220.

virtue, and roused it into action, by such incentives as were likely to touch a warm, free, and spirited people. He pointed out the prospect of asserting their freedom, which had of late opened on their country, from the dissentions which had arisen in England between Henry and the archbishop of Canterbury; and from the probability, likewise, that this prince would soon be engaged in a war with France; that country, as well as the Pope, having espoused the cause of Becket.[u]

Animated by his generous spirit, by the prosperity which had attended his arms, and by such a favourable conjuncture, the prince of North Wales and all his sons, his brother Cadwalader and the princes of Powis, joined Rhys ap Gryffydh, in hopes of regaining the independency they had lost, and of recovering that honour which of late they had forfeited. At no period, had the Welsh ever united into a confederacy like this, concentering with so much energy and force, the various policies and interests, the different tempers and abilities of the princes of Wales.[x]

Ann. Dom. 1165. The first enterprise, under the conduct of David the son of Owen Gwynedh, was an inroad into Flintshire, where he committed most grievous devastations, carrying away the cattle and inhabitants to the Vale of Clwyd.[y]

[u] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 439.

[x] Welsh Chron. p. 220. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

[y] Welsh Chron. p. 221.

DURING

During the absence of the king in Normandy, some forces had been levied by parliament for the reduction of Rhys ap Gryffydh.[z] Henry, on his arrival, marched with these troops into Flintshire for the protection of Rhuddlan castle, which fortress he was afraid the Welsh might besiege. The enemy having retired, and the king, not being sufficiently in force to pursue them, stayed only a few days to augment his garrisons, and marched back into England, in order, by raising new levies, to prosecute the war with greater vigour.[a]

His British dominions, and the different territories he possessed in France, furnished him with the choicest troops; and with this combined force he marched into Powis, in the full resolution of exterminating the inhabitants.

The English army entered the Welsh confines at Oswestry, where Henry encamped for some time,[b] in expectation that the terror of his arms might, by shaking the firmness of the confederate princes, call them back to their allegiance; or at least, that the protection which such a power would naturally offer, might detach from the common cause the princes of the house of Powis, the usual adherents of his family. It might have been expected that a confederacy like this, heterogeneous in

[z] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 440.

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. sub. Ann. 1165. Chronica Gervasii, p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrens. Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

[b] Ibid.

itself,

itſelf, and forming its union from a ſudden impulſe rather than from ſteady principles of either policy or patriotiſm, would have ſhrunk from ſo formidable an armament. But all the welſh princes remained firm and intrepid, determined to reſcue their country from a foreign domination, or to periſh in the attempt.

The power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedh and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydh: thoſe of Powis by Owen Cyveilioc and the ſons of Madoc ap Meredydh. With theſe were joined the inhabitants of the country ſituated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains the two ſons of Madoc ap Ednerth.

The combined forces aſſembled at Corwen, a ſtrong country in Ederneon, in which ſituation of advantage they waited the approach of the Engliſh. As ſoon as Henry had intelligence that the Welſh army was near, deſirous of bringing on an action, he advanced to the Ceiriog, a river which runs through the Vale of that name; and that he might not be liable to the ambuſcades of the enemy, he ordered the woods on each ſide of the banks to be cut down.[c] It was probably on the paſſage of this river, that the Engliſh monarch was in imminent danger of his life. Attempting

[c] Welſh Chron. p. 221.

to

to force a bridge, an arrow aimed at him by the hand of a Welſhman, muſt inevitably have pierced his body, if Hubert de St. Clare conſtable of Colcheſter, perceiving the danger, had not ſtepped before his maſter and received it into his own boſom, of which wound he inſtantly died.[d]

While the Engliſh were employed in cutting down the woods, a party of the Welſh acquainted with the paſſage of the river, without any orders from their leaders, made a ſudden attack on the van of Henry's army compoſed of pike-men, conſidered as the flower of his troops. A warm action enſued; many were ſlain on both ſides; at length Henry gained the paſſage, and advancing ſtill farther, came to the mountain of Berwyn, where his forces lay encamped for ſeveral days. In this ſtate the two armies ſeemed to ſtand in awe of each other; the Engliſh on the plain below, and the Welſh, preſenting a formidable front, poſted on the acclivity, or on the top of the mountain. The ſituation of Henry ſoon became critical. For the Welſh, watching every movement, and loſing no opportunity of cutting off his proviſions, ſoon reduced his army to great diſtreſs for want of victuals and forage; the ſoldiers being afraid to ſtir out of the camp. To increaſe the miſery of his ſituation, there fell on a ſudden ſuch violent rains, as rendered it difficult for his ſoldiers to ſtand on their feet in that broken and ſlippery country;

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 222. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 73. who ſays, this accident happened at the ſiege of Bridge North.

ſuch

ſuch torrents of water, likewiſe, poured down from the hills into the vale where he lay encamped, that he was obliged to retire, with great loſs of ammunition and of men, and to leave to the Welſh ſo glorious an occaſion of triumph.[e] Deeply wounded with a ſenſe of his diſgrace, the liberal ſpirit of Henry was thrown off its bias. To gratify a mean revenge, unworthy of a hero, of injuring thoſe whom his arms had not been able to ſubdue, and that too in a manner, ſo wounding to ſenſibility; he commanded the eyes of thoſe hoſtages, which had been formerly given him, to be pulled out. Among the number of theſe unfortunate victims were the two ſons of Rhys ap Gryffydh, and two ſons of the prince of North Wales.[f]

Thus baffled in his operations at land, Henry had recourſe to the more effectual meaſure of attacking the Welſh by ſea. With this view he repaired to Cheſter, and remained there for ſome time, until he had collected his fleet, and had received a reinforcement of ſhips, which he expected out of Ireland. Then, on a ſudden, having finiſhed theſe preparations, without any apparent cauſe he gave up the deſign, and diſmiſſed both his fleet and his army.[g] Unacquainted as

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 222.

[f] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 73. who ſays, that beſides theſe above-mentioned, he cauſed the ſons and daughters of ſeveral Welſh lords, to be treated with the ſame ſeverity; ordering the eyes of the young ſtriplings to be pecked out of their heads, and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be ſtuffed. Welſh Chron. p. 222.

[g] Welſh Chron. p. 222.

we

we are with his motives, we can only account for this extraordinary conduct, in a prince so wise and spirited as Henry, from a just or imaginary fear that his foreign dominions would be attacked while he was prosecuting the war in Wales. Whatever were the motives of his conduct, it is certain that Henry had tarnished the reputation of his arms, and of consequence that the Welsh princes were more strongly confirmed in their revolt.

Rhys ap Gryffydh, suddenly investing the castle of Aberteivi, gained possession of that fortress; then turning his arms into Caerdigan, he made himself master of the castle of Cilgerran, a place of the greatest importance, which he levelled to the ground, and took Robert his cousin by Nest his aunt, prisoner. The Welsh prince then, with great spoils, returned into his own territories, with an additional lustre to his arms.

Soon after this incursion, the prince of North Wales took the castle of Basingwerk, lately fortified by Henry, which he entirely demolished.[h] Ann. Dom. 1166.

If any thing could have taught the Welsh the strong necessity of union to counteract the designs of an oppressive and hereditary enemy, it must have been the prosperity which had attended the late exertion of their

[h] Welsh Chron. p. 223.

arms; and which had raiſed them on a ſudden from an ignominious dependence, to manly reſiſtance, and generous ſentiments, and to the attainment of their freedom. But a ſpirit of diſunion, inherent in the conſtitution itſelf, was not only a ſource of private miſery, but precluded, alſo, any ſyſtem of general policy; and of courſe, the public ſafety was left to depend on rude valour, on a country almoſt inacceſſible, on the caprice of accidents, and on the ſprings of irregular paſſions.

In reſentment of an outrage committed by the lords of Powis,[i] the princes of North and South Wales, with Cadwalader the brother of Owen Gwynedh, breaking the ties of a common intereſt, invaded and took poſſeſſion of the territories of Owen Cyveilioc,[k] who, with the other chieftains of Powis had ſo lately joined the confederacy againſt Henry. A part of this territory Owen Gwynedh retained to his own ſhare; the other parts he gave to Owen Vychan and to Rhys ap Gryffydh.[l] But Owen Cyveilioc ſoon after, by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh army, appears to have regained his patrimony; an event which ſerved only to ſhew the little juſtice and protection to be expected from the confederate princes.[m]

[i] Welſh Chron. p. 223. [k] Ibid. p. 224.

[l] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 6.

[m] Welſh Chron. p. 224.

Soon

Soon after this enterprise, the same princes, while the English monarch was absent in his foreign dominions, invested the castle of Rhuddlan, lately fortified by Henry, and a place of importance upon the English frontier. The garrison defended the place for two months with great bravery; at length it was taken and levelled to the ground. Then, with less difficulty, the princes gained possession of the castle of Prestatyn, which they likewise demolished. The fortifications of Basingwerk having been lately destroyed, this success gave Owen the possession of the maritime parts of Flintshire called Tegengl.[n] Ann. Dom. 1167.

At this time Henry was in Normandy, engaged in a war with Lewis king of France. The confederate Welsh princes, desirous of engaging the English monarch more deeply in foreign disputes, sent, in conjunction with William the Lion king of Scotland, ambassadors to the French court, with an offer of aid to carry on the war against Henry. It does not appear that this offer was accepted; though it was the first attempt we have seen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welsh princes, the influence of which they were desirous of extending to the continent.[o]

Some time after this event died Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, after a reign of thirty-two years, and was

[n] Welsh Chron. p. 224.

[o] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. vol. II. p. 534. from V. Epist. prædict.

buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his firſt wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llowarch ap Trahearn lord of Dyvet, by whom he had only Jorwerth Drwyndwn, or Edward with the broken noſe; by his ſecond wife Chriſtian, daughter of Gronw ap Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield, he had David, Rodri lord of Angleſey, Cadwallon who was abbot of Bardſey, and Angharad married to Gryffydh Maelor. He had likewiſe twelve other children by different women.[o]

It has been often ſaid, that in order to form a juſt eſtimate of the happineſs of individuals, we muſt wait till the period of their lives. It is in the ſame manner that we muſt judge of the character of the late prince. We have ſeen him in the early part of his reign, with equal proſperity and valour, reſiſting the mighty efforts of a wiſe and powerful monarch: with a patriotiſm that reflected honour upon his judgment, we have ſeen him on various occaſions aid the generous deſigns of Rhys ap Gryffydh. From what motive, then, ſhall we account for the change in his conduct? Having had the advantage in the conflict at Counſyllt, without any apparent cauſe, unleſs it were the expediency of the moment, he himſelf, under humiliating circumſtances ſubmitted to become the vaſſal of a foreign prince, and in the conſequence, reduced the chieftains of his country to the like diſhonourable ſituation.

[o] Hiſt. Gwydir family, p. 3.

ſituation. At one time we ſee him duped by Henry's policy, ſupporting for years the ſame degenerate conduct, waſting the national ſtrength, and diverting its force, and tearing aſunder the ties of union and confidence, by attempting to conquer the territories of Rhys ap Gryffydh, his gallant coadjutor. Inſpired by the example of that prince, and joined in confederacy with the other Welſh powers, we at length ſee him, with an increaſe of importance to his country, recover independency. In this happy period of his days, full of years and ſurrounded by his children, he left the buſy theatre of the world; and, although the mid-day of his life was clouded and inglorious, the evening became ſerene, and cloſed with honour to himſelf and advantage to his country.

SO whimſical and indeciſive was the mode of ſucceſſion, that as many ſons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the influence of ambition, or of a fiery, and turbulent ſpirit. Jorwerth his eldeſt ſon, was unanimouſly ſet aſide on account of a blemiſh which he had in his face, and he appears to have reſigned himſelf quietly to the public judgment. He had however aſſigned him for his maintenance, a part of his father's inheritance, the hundreds of Nanconwy and Ardudwy; and reſided at the caſtle of Dolwyddelan, ſituated in the ſouth-eaſtern part of Caernarvonſhire. [p] Howel, a

[p] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 7. This prince was afterwards obliged to take ſanctuary at Pennant Melangell in Montgomeryſhire, where he died.

natural

natural ſon of the late prince, born of an Iriſhwoman, being the firſt who ſtarted for the prize, gained for a time a precarious poſſeſſion of the throne. David, the eldeſt ſon of Owen Gwynedh by a ſecond wife, regarding his own right in the preſent ſituation as indiſputable, and diſdaining to hold under the ſovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raiſed an army, fought a battle with his rival, and ſlew him in the action.[q] He then gained a quiet poſſeſſion of the throne of North Wales.[r]

Ann. Dom. 1169.

At this time, Madoc another ſon of the late prince, ſeeing the contention which agitated the fiery ſpirits of his brothers, with a courage equal to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himſelf up to the danger and uncertainty of ſeas hitherto unexplored. He is ſaid to have embarked with a few ſhips; ſailing weſt, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traverſed the ocean, till he arrived by accident upon the coaſt of America. Pleaſed with its appearance, he left there a great part of his people, and returning for a freſh ſupply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who, encouraged by a flattering deſcription of that country, and ſick of the diſorders which reigned in their own,[s] were deſirous of ſeeking an aſylum in the wilds of America.[t]

As

[q] Welſh Chr. p. 227. [r] Memoir Gwedir Family, p. 7. Welſh Chr. p. 227.

[s] We know nothing of the reality of this diſcovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydh ap Rhys, who flouriſhed in the year 1470, of Gutwin Owen

As Henry was on his journey into Ireland, Rhys ap Gryffydh gave him the meeting, and was received into the king's peace, and confirmed in all the poffeffions he then enjoyed; in confideration of which he offered that monarch a confiderable fupply of oxen and horfes towards the conqueft he was meditating, and as a pledge of his future fidelity offered him likewife fourteen hoftages. Henry, then, proceeded on his journey into South Wales, and having entered into Caerlleon upon Ufke, ejected Jorwerth the lord of that place, whofe fidelity he fufpected, and took poffeffion of it himfelf. On the king's departure, highly incenfed at this outrage, Jorwerth fent his two fons, with other of his kindred and a number of their followers, to recover poffeffion both of the town and the caftle. They fucceeded in part; the town they took and demolifhed; but they were baffled in every attempt which they made againft the caftle. The king, purfuing his journey, came to Pembroke, and there gave to Rhys a confiderable extenfion of territory, all Caerdigan, Stratywy, Aruftlwy and Eluel. Some time after, the Englifh monarch paid a vifit to that prince at one of his palaces, called the white houfe, or Ty Gwyn, in Caermarthenfhire, where he delivered up his fon Howel, who

Owen in 1480, and Cynfrig ap Gronw near the fame period. Thefe bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc as an event well known, and univerfally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones's Mufical Relics of the Welfh Bards, p. 19.

[t] Humfrey Lhuyd. Welfh Chron. p. 228. [u] Ibid. p. 230, 231.

had

had been long left as a hoſtage in Henry's hands; he excuſed likewiſe for a time the delivery of thoſe hoſtages lately promiſed, and remitted the payment of the tribute until his return out of Ireland.[u]

The patriotiſm of the Welſh prince ſunk under the influence of theſe mutual civilities. The gallant and independent ſpirit inherited from a long line of anceſtors, and which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed his own conduct, all that the terror of Henry's arms and a ſeries of hoſtilities could not ſhake, was now done away by a few acts of a well directed courteſy. Forſaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a ſingle inſtance, we ſhall only ſee him in future as a *ſatrap* to the Engliſh monarch. Mingling in the common maſs, and loſing for ever the ancient honours of his name, this prince and his family retained no longer[x] any marks of ſovereignty.[y]

Ann. Dom. 1172. On the return of Henry out of Ireland, the expedition having been rendered fruitleſs by a ſickneſs among his ſoldiers, he was met by Rhys ap Gryffydh at Talacharn, where he paid him the cuſtomary duties.[z]

So difficult is it to eradicate the ſentiments of freedom out of minds accuſtomed to the ideas of independence, and ſo

[x] From this period the heads of this family were only diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Arglwydhi* or lords. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 75.

[y] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 76.

[z] Welſh Chron. p. 232.

natural

natural are injustice and cruelty to men desirous of exterminating that invaluable blessing, that Henry found he had not gained the point of his ambition by disarming Rhys ap Gryffydh. Another family, stung with a sense of injury, sprung up to avenge their own private wrongs, and, if possible, for a while to stem the torrent which was overwhelming their country.

Before Henry's return into England he had sent a safe conduct to Jorwerth, the chieftain whom he had so lately injured, desiring that he, his sons and all his friends, would meet him at a certain place on the Borders, that he might conclude a peace with them, and might leave that country in perfect tranquillity. Jorwerth himself paid instant obedience to the king's summons, and sent orders to his son Owen to do the same, and to give him the meeting on the road. The soldiers who garrisoned the New Castle, or Newport upon Wysc or Uske, having intelligence of this laid wait for the young chieftain, whom they met on the road, and barbarously murdered, unarmed and almost without attendance, and resting in security on the protection of a great monarch. It is not to be supposed, that a magnanimous prince like Henry had any knowledge of a transaction so cruel, so faithless, and impolitic. Some of the attendants who escaped the massacre, carried the account of it to the father; who, deeply wounded by the injury, returned home with his other son Howel, determined in

future to have no reliance on the faith of the Engliſh. Then collecting all the Welſh, whom he or his friends could engage in his domeſtic quarrel, he made incurſions into thoſe parts of Monmouthſhire which were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh; laying waſte with fire and ſword thoſe diſtricts, and the bordering counties of England, as far as the gates of Hereford and Glouceſter.[a]

Ann. Dom. 1172.

Henry, hearing of theſe events, appointed Rhys ap Gryffydh chief juſtice of South Wales.[b] He thought that the ſhadow of power, amuſing a mind naturally capricious, might conciliate the affections of this lord, and be a means of diverting his attention from the real dignity he had loſt.

The ideas of Henry were ſoon juſtified. A civil war having broke out between that prince and his eldeſt ſon, Rhys ſent a choſen body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh monarch. A far different ſpirit influenced the conduct of Jorwerth the other Welſh chieftain. Taking advantage of the diſſentions which then prevailed in England, he laid ſiege to the town of Caer Lleon, of which he was the natural lord, and gained poſſeſſion of the place; he then inveſted the caſtle, which ſoon ſurrendered

[a] Welſh Chron. p. 232.

[b] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

on

on condition of giving up the prisoners he had taken; and pursuing his success, he brought all Gwent-Is-Coed in Monmouthshire, except a single fortress, under his subjection.[c]

During these transactions a flagrant instance of injustice and rapacity took place in North Wales. Prince David, by force of arms, took possession of the isle of Anglesey, the property of his brother Roderic,[d] whom he closely confined; he likewise seised on the territories of the rest of his brothers and other kinsmen, whom he banished the realm.[e] Ann. Dom. 1173.

To subdue the little virtue which remained in the country, Henry employed a new mode of seduction; a spring that was not likely to fail of success. He gave to David the Welsh prince his sister Emma[f] in marriage; thus disarming an implacable enemy, by the powerful influence of ambition and love.[g] David, on his marriage with the English princess, sent over into Normandy a body of Welsh, a thousand in number, to the assistance of the king his brother-in-law;[h] Henry being then engaged in a war with France.

[c] Welsh Chron. p. 234. [d] Memoir Gwedir family, p. 8.

[e] Welsh Chron. p. 234.

[f] By this princess David had a son named Owen. See Hist. Gwedir family, p. 12.

[g] Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 205. Hist. Gwedir family, p. 8.

[h] Holinshead, vol. II. p. 93. Welsh Chron. p. 235.

Such was the ſtate of things in the principality of North Wales. The ſtream ran equally in favour of the Engliſh in South Wales. The old king and Henry his ſon held a great council at Glouceſter, for ſettling the peace of South Wales and of the Borders. To this meeting came Rhys ap Gryffydh, juſt returned in the ſervice of Henry from the ſiege of Tutbury caſtle, attended by ſix chieftains of eminence, all of them lords in South Wales, and connected with his family by blood or by alliance: even Jorwerth, forgetting his injuries, repaired with the reſt to Glouceſter, where they all did homage, and made their ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh monarch.[i] In conſequence of this, through the mediation of Rhys they obtained pardon of the king for all former offences. To render the favour more complete, Jorwerth was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Caer Lleon.[k] After this, to unite more cloſely his vaſſals, both Engliſh and Welſh, who were preſent at the aſſembly, he obliged them to take an oath, that if any one ſhould be ſeparately attacked by the other powers in Wales, all the reſt ſhould unite in his defence.[l]

Ann. Dom. 1176.

Soon after this event, David prince of North Wales, Rhys ap Gryffydh, Owen Cyveilioc and other chieftains in Powis, with many of the Welſh nobility, came, upon Henry's ſummons, to a parliament held at Oxford, to confer with him

[i] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23. [k] Welſh Chron. p. 236.
[l] Benedict Abb. p. 110. Brompton's Chron. ſub. Ann. 1175, p. 1102.

there

there upon the ſtate of their country;[m] a ſcene, flattering to the Engliſh monarch, in which the ſpirit of the Welſh princes is ſeen to bend under the influence of ſuperior talents. At this parliament, Henry gave Eleſmere in the marches to David prince of North Wales, and the territory of Mierionydh to Rhys ap Gryffydh.[n] Ann. Dom. 1177.

An inſtance of ſavage barbarity was at this time perpetrated on ſome of Henry's vaſſals in South Wales. William de Bruce lord of Brecknock, invited to an entertainment at the caſtle of Abergavenny in Monmouthſhire, Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, who had lately made his peace with Henry, Geoffry his ſon, and other chiefs of diſtinction in Gwent. In the midſt of their feſtivity, with a view of inflaming their minds, and giving ſome colour to the baſeneſs of his deſign, he told the Welſh chieftains that in future they ſhould not travel armed either with their ſwords or their bows,[o] and he inſtantly required them to take an oath for the due performance of the ſame. It is eaſy to imagine in what manner a fiery and high ſpirited nobility would reliſh ſo imperious a command, which they would conſider only as a badge of their ſlavery. It was univerſally rejected. Then, on a ſignal being made, a number of ſoldiers ready armed in the caſtle ruſhed into the hall, and maſſacred the Welſh

[m] Holinſhead. p. 101. Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 111. Howedon, p. 566.
[n] Howedon, p. 566. Benedict Abbas, p. 205.
[o] Math. Paris, p. 110.

lords.

lords.[p] Not ſatisfied with the blood he had already ſhed, Bruce, attended by his ruffians, proceeded to the houſe of Seiſyllt, where he took priſoner the wife of that chieftain, and murdered his infant ſon in the preſence of the mother.[q] As the juſtice of Henry did not ſeverely puniſh this outrage, which every law of prudence and humanity demanded, we have the liberty of thinking, that even that great prince knew when to relax its uſual vigour and firmneſs.

RODERIC, brother of the prince of North Wales, who had been lately impriſoned, broke out of his confinement, and fled into Angleſey, where he was univerſally received by the people as their ſovereign, David their preſent prince having rendered himſelf odious by his cruelty, and having grown bold in the exerciſe of tyranny by his alliance with the Engliſh king. Having intelligence of this event, David retired for ſecurity to the Engliſh ſide of the Conway;[r] poſſeſſing only the caſtle of Rhuddlan, and the territories adjacent, which he held by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh garriſon.[s] The young prince Llewelyn the ſon of Jorwerth Drwyndwn, was at this time entertained in the court of Roderic his uncle.[t]

CADWALADER, uncle to the reigning prince of North Wales having come into England to ſolicit aſſiſtance, was at

[p] Math. Paris, p. 110. [q] Welſh Chron. p. 236, 237.

[r] Welſh Chron. p. 236, 237.

[s] Hiſtory of Gwedir family, p. 8. [t] Ibid. p. 9.

this

this time murdered by an Engliſh eſcort, as they were conveying him by the king's orders and under his protection into Wales. This breach of public faith ſoon met with exemplary puniſhment. All the perſons concerned in the murder were condemned to the gibbet.[w] Such an act of juſtice, politic to the laſt degree, throws in this inſtance a luſtre on the humanity and wiſdom of Henry's government. This prince was the lord of Caerdigan, and uſually reſided at the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth.[x] Ann. Dom. 1179.

A few years after theſe events, the ſword of juſtice was taken up by the Welſh themſelves, enforced by the ſpirit of revenge, a ſpirit of all others the moſt potent in uncultivated minds. It ſeems, that Ranulph de Poer the ſheriff of Glouceſter, had been concerned with William de Bruce in the maſſacre committed ſeven years before in the caſtle of Abergavenny. It is with reluctance we are obliged to relate, that this infamous tranſaction appears to have been perpetrated through the ſecret influence of the Engliſh king. The ſons and the nephews of Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal and of the other chieftains, who had fallen in that ſcene of barbarity, being now grown up, were ſtrongly incited to revenge on the Engliſh the murder of their parents. In purſuance of this deſign, early one morning, they aſſaulted the caſtle of Aber-

[w] Math. Paris, p. 116. Welſh Chron. p. 238.

[x] Memoirs of Gwedir family, p. 6, 7.

gavenny;

gavenny; and having scaled the walls, took possession of the fortress, and burning it to the ground, they carried away prisoners the governor and his wife, with all the garrison. Soon after, the young chieftains, assisted by the natives of the country, stormed a fortress lately built by Ranulph de Poer, near Monmouth; the garrison was defeated and driven into the fosses of the castle; where that lord, with nine of the most distinguished persons in the county of Hereford, and many soldiers, were slain by the enemies lances.[y]

INCENSED at this outrage, the king of England advanced with a large army to Worcester, with the design of punishing the offenders; but his resentment was appeased by Rhys ap Gryffydh, who repairing to that city took fresh oaths of allegiance, and promised to deliver up, as pledges of the peace of the country, his son and his nephews.[z] But the young men, having in memory the fate of those hostages, so lately the victims of Henry's resentment, absolutely refused to place themselves in the same perilous situation.[a]

Ann. Dom. 1189. AT this time died Henry the second. His eldest son Richard succeeded to the throne of England.

[y] Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. lib. I. cap. IV. Roger Hovedon, p. 617.

[z] Holinshead. p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welsh Chron. p. 240.

[a] Ibid.

THIS

This event was followed by the death of Gryffydh Maelor, the ſon of Madoc ap Meredydh the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. He was lord of the two Bromfields and Mochnant-Is-Rhaider, and left one ſon named Madoc, which he had by Angharad daughter of Owen Gwynedh, to ſucceed to that part of his father's inheritance which was called Powis Vadoc.[b] Ann. Dom. 1190.

The pages of the Welſh annals are diſcoloured for ſome years by hideous pictures of ſavage manners. Influenced by the "ſpirit of the firſt born Cain," a brother's arm is raiſed in horrid ſucceſſion againſt a brother; the parent[c] and his children by a courſe of injuries are engaged in mutual hoſtilities, tearing aſunder the ties of affection and of nature.[d] Scenes, ſuch as theſe, ſo expreſſive of horror, diſguſt the eye of humanity; and as they are only of a private nature and do not relate to national objects, it is with pleaſure we turn to the more agreeable proſpects, which are opening to our view, of juſtice, and order, of freedom, and national importance.

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 242.

[c] Rhys ap Gryffydh.

[d] Welſh Chron. from page 240 to 250.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH TO THE DEATH OF DAVID AP LLEWELYN.

JORWERTH the ſon of Owen Gwynedh had been ſet a ſide from the ſucceſſion, on his father's deceaſe, on account of a perſonal blemiſh. His ſon Llewelyn, now arrived at years of maturity, and deſirous of aſſerting his right, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of his friends in Powis, his mother being the daughter of Madoc the chief of that houſe. With this aid, and what he received from his relations in North Wales, he demanded the crown in preference to David his uncle. The claim of the young prince, aſſiſted by his popular talents, was allowed. In this eaſy manner was Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, placed in the ſovereignty of North Wales; his uncle

Ann. Dom. 1194. David retaining only a few fortreſſes which were garriſoned by the Engliſh.[c]

Rhys ap Gryffydh,[d] having been engaged in a ſeries of hoſtilities with his ſons, and having lately gained an advantage over them, revolted from his allegiance, and laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Caermarthen, which he took in a ſhort time. Ann. Dom. 1195. Then, having laid waſte the country, he led his army into the marches, and inveſted the caſtle of Clun; which, after a long ſiege, and many terrible aſſaults, he made himſelf maſter of, and burned it to the ground. From thence he proceeded to Radnor, which fortreſs he likewiſe took. To the defence of this place came Roger Mortimer with a conſiderable body of well armed and veteran troops, which were oppoſed by the raw and almoſt unarmed ſoldiers of the Welſh prince; who, ſallying from the caſtle, drove the Engliſh after a bloody action out of the field. He then proceeded to Payne caſtle in Eluel, which having reduced, he delivered back to William de Bruce on certain conditions.[e]

Ann. Dom. 1196. Soon after theſe events, Rhys ap Gryffydh left this world, on the ſtage of which he had exhibited uncommon

[c] Welſh Chron. p. 245.

[d] In the firſt year of king Richard's reign, Rhys ap Gryffydh came into England as far as Oxford, conducted by the earl of Moreton. And becauſe the king would not perſonally meet the ſaid Gryffydh, as his father had done, he fell into a paſſion and returned into his own country; See Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 459.

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 247, 248.

verſatility

versatility of character.[f] He was interred in the Abbey of Strata Florida, which he himself had erected; and which became the burial place of the succeeding lords of his family.[g] If there had been less of caprice in his conduct, if his patriotism, his valour, and other talents for command, had been directed by a steady and uniform principle, the name of this prince would have appeared with the highest lustre in the annals of his country, the honour and liberty of which he, at times, defended with so much zeal and success.

At this time Richard king of England was engaged in the Holy Land, led away by his own romantic spirit and the epidemic frenzy of the age.

The archbishop of Canterbury, in the absence of the king appointed justiciary of the realm, came into the Welsh Borders[h] with a lage army, and laid siege to the castle of Pool, the property of Gwenwynwyn the son of Owen Cyveilioc. But finding his endeavours to take the place by storm not successful, he began to undermine the walls, which the garrison perceiving, yielded up the fortress, on condition that they should be allowed to depart with their arms. The works of the castle being strengthened,

[f] Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

[g] Manuscript of Edward Llwyd in Sir John Seabright's collection. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 19.

[h] Roger Hovedon, p. 775.

and

and an Engliſh garriſon placed in it, the archbiſhop returned into England: on his departure it was retaken by the original proprietor, on the ſame conditions on which it had been given up before.[i]

David the depoſed prince, with an army of Engliſh and a body of Welſh who ſtill adhered to his fortunes, made an attempt to recover the ſovereignty he had loſt. But the enterpriſe was eaſily diſconcerted by the rapidity of Llewelyn, who advancing to give his uncle the meeting, defeated his forces, took him priſoner, and lodged him in confinement.[k]

At the cloſe of the ſame year Owen Cyveilioc died, leaving the higher Powis to his ſon Gwenwynwyn, which territory in future was called by the name of that chieftain, to diſtinguiſh it from Powis Vadoc, the other diviſion of that country.[l]

Although by the combined influence of policy and power the Engliſh had at length gained the aſcendency in South Wales, individuals were hurried into a revolt by the inhuman and perfidious conduct of the lords of the marches: but the ineffectual efforts of this miſerable people to recover their liberties, or to revenge their wrongs, as they acted only from the ſpur of their feelings, without concert or prudence,

[i] Welſh Chron. p. 248. [k] Ibid. p. 250.

[l] Ibid. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

ſerved

ſerved only more cloſely to rivet their chains. Trahaern Vychan, a man of diſtinction in Brecknock, as he was repairing to Lancors to confer on buſineſs with William de Bruce lord of that country, was arreſted by order of the Engliſh baron, tied to a horſe's tail, and in that ignominious manner dragged through the town to the gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body ſuſpended by the feet three days.[m]

In revenge of this outrage, Gwenwynwyn laid ſiege to the caſtle of Matilda in Eluel, the property of William de Bruce; declaring that after he had gained poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, he would ſet fire to all the country as far as the Severn; a ſacrifice due to the manes of Trahaern his relation. Not having any miners in his army, or battering engines, the Welſh chieftain lay three weeks before the caſtle; which delay gave time to William de Bruce to ſend into England for ſuccour. Geoffry Fitz Peter, juſticiary of England, inſtantly came to his relief, having joined to his army the different powers of the lords of the marches; and as the event of war was uncertain, he was deſirous of terminating the diſpute by concluding a peace with Gwenwynwyn. The offer was rejected with diſdain. The Welſh declared their firm reſolution of revenging in this enterpriſe the ancient wrongs of their country. The Engliſh, then, releaſed out of confinement Ann. Dom. 1198.

m Welſh Chron. p. 250, 251. Hamfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

Gryffydh

Gryffydh the ſon of the late Rhys ap Gryffydh, who had been lately impriſoned; between whom and Gwenwynwyn they knew, at this time, ſubſiſted a deadly feud;* and being joined by the forces raiſed by that chieftain, they advanced to the relief of the caſtle. Confident of his ſtrength, Gwenwynwyn faced the Engliſh in an open plain, though experience might have convinced him of the prudence of a different conduct. In this action the Welſh were defeated, if that can with propriety be called an action, in which no other loſs was ſuſtained by the Engliſh army than that of a ſingle ſoldier, and even that ſoldier ſlain by a random arrow from his own party. Beſides the wounded and the priſoners, many of whom were of conſiderable note, three thouſand and ſeventy of the Welſh were left dead on the field.[n] It is not eaſy to account for the facility with which the Engliſh gained this victory. The raſhneſs of the Welſh leader was probably the cauſe of his defeat, in fighting on the open plain, with ſuch troops as his own, half armed, and liable to panics, againſt a firm and completely armed body like the Engliſh.

At this time Richard king of England was ſlain at the
Ann. Dom. 1199. ſiege of Chalons, an inconſiderable town in Limoſin. John his brother ſucceeded to the throne.

[n] Math. Paris, p. 162. Welſh Chron. 252. Holinſhead, p. 154.

After

After his acceffion, being deeply engaged in foreign concerns, that prince fent Hubert de Burgh his chamberlain, with one hundred knights, to guard the Welfh marches.* At the fame time a treaty of peace was concluded between Llewelyn prince of North Wales, and the earl of Effex jufticiary of the realm. In this treaty Llewelyn, with the principal chieftains of his realm, fwore to the obfervance of the following articles. To maintain perpetual fidelity to king John in the fulnefs of feudal ideas. To receive at the hands of the lord chief juftice livery and feifin of his territories, which he was to hold in fecurity until the kings return into England. On the arrival of the king, when fummoned to appear, he fhould come and do homage to him as to his liege lord; but when that duty was paid, he was to return into his own country in perfect fecurity, only liable to pay a ftrict obedience to any fummons of the like nature. In confideration of this the king was to pardon all offences committed prior to the day of pacification; but if any complaints fhould arife in future, it was to be in Llewelyn's choice whether the caufe fhould be tried by the laws of England or by thofe of Wales. If he chofe that the merits of his caufe fhould be tried according to the Englifh law, a court was to be appointed in England, where judgment fhould be given agreeably to the laws of that country. If the prince was defirous that the Welfh laws fhould determine the controverfy, and it were found on

* Roger Hovedon, p. 819. Holinfhead, p. 163.

inquiry that he could hold a court to take cognisance of such a matter, the cause should then be decided in his own court; but if it were found otherwise, in that case the king was to send some of his own subjects, eminent for their wisdom, into the territory of Llewelyn where the matter was in controversy, before whom the cause should be tried, and jugdment given by a certain number of Welshmen, selected from places at a distance, as being on that account not liable to the suspicion of partiality, and their award was to be final. If after the ratification of the peace, any injury should be done by Llewelyn to the king or to any of his subjects, reparation should be made agreeably to the award of some of the English nobility particularly mentioned for that purpose. But it was also required from the arbitrators above-mentioned, that they should administer judgment with justice, to the honour of God and of the king. If any injury was done in the English territories, and the offenders should escape into the dominions of Llewelyn, and the persons suffering the damage, or others, pursuing them into the said dominions, that Llewelyn should cause the plunder to be restored and execute justice on the malefactors. If the offenders should have escaped into the territories of Llewelyn, or concealed themselves therein, that prince engaged to do all in his power to obtain satisfaction, as if the injury had been done to himself. This peace was signed the third year of the reign of king John, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and by the son of the

chief

chief juſtice; who ſet their ſeals to the writing as a ſecurity for the due obſervance of the treaty, until it ſhould be ratified by the king on his return into England. The tenor of this treaty, though in general formed on the principles of juſtice, was ſo fully expreſſive of vaſſalage, that it ſeems as if the independency of Wales at this period was annihilated.[p] Ann. Dom 1201.

The peace with England afforded Llewelyn the opportunity of exerting the native vigour of his mind. Some time before, he had confiſcated the eſtates of Meredydh his couſin,[q] and baniſhed him the realm upon a ſuſpicion of treaſon.[r] He thought an interval of leiſure could not be better employed than in attempting to reſtore the original conſtitution of his country; a rude though venerable fabric, which, having long remained a monument of its ancient grandeur, had fallen into decay in the lapſe of ages.

The Welſh princes, by the laws of Roderic, and by thoſe of Howel Dha, though independent in their own territories, yet acknowledged the ſovereignty of North Wales. To connect the looſe and ſeparated parts into one ſyſtem of government, Llewelyn convened an aſſembly of all the chieftains throughout Wales. Theſe nobles, ſenſible of the advantage of union and of adhering to ancient

p Rymer's Fædera, p. 123.

q The Cantrevs of Llun and Evionydd, ſituated in the South Weſt parts of Caernarvonſhire. Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 20. r Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 20.

 forms,

forms, took the usual oaths of fealty.[s] Gwenwynwyn, alone, the lord of the higher Powis, refused to attend the meeting, or to take the oath of allegiance. His refusal being known to the assembly, they declared that he ought to be compelled to the performance of his duty, or to forfeit his lands, as a part of the feudal obligation. One chieftain, alone, of the name of Elise, refused his consent to any mode of compulsion, and suddenly withdrew from the meeting. Deeply interested in the event, Llewelyn did not suffer the seeds of disobedience to mature by time into stronger resistance. He led an army into Powis; but that force, by the mediation of several persons, in estimation for wisdom in the country, was rendered unnecessary, and Gwenwynwyn made his submission to the prince, which he confirmed by the usual formalities. Resenting the conduct of Elise, Llewelyn, then, took possession of his estates, and obliged him to fly out of the country; but that chieftain soon afterwards yeilding himself up to his mercy, had a castle, with some lands assigned him for his maintenance.

Ann. Dom. 1203. HAVING so happily finished this important measure Llewelyn returned into North Wales.[t]

THE English king having lost a great part of his territories in France returned into England. On his arrival, he gave Joan,

[s] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23. [t] Welsh Chr. p. 257, 258.

a daughter

a daughter which he had by a lady of the houſe of Ferrars, in marriage to Llewelyn; perhaps as a reward for the due obſervance of the late treaty, or as a means of ſecuring thoſe advantages which he naturally thought would reſult from ſuch an alliance. With this lady was given as a dower the lordſhip of Eleſmere in Shropſhire, in the marches of Wales.[u] Ann. Dom. 1204.

Prince Llewelyn, in his youth, had married Tangwyſtl, daughter of Lhowarch Goch the lord of Rhos, by whom he had a ſon, very brave, called Gryffydh ap Llewelyn; who, as heir apparent, had the Cantrevs of Englefield, Rhos, Rhyvonioc, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father; being the country adjoining to England, in order that the young prince might defend his own territories from the common enemy. He married in his father's life, Sina daughter of Cariadog ap Tho' ap Rodric ap Owen Gwynedh.[x]

David the depoſed prince of North Wales, having been ſet at liberty by his nephew, fled into England, and procured there an army to aſſiſt him in recovering the throne. The enterpriſe failed of ſucceſs; he was met on his march

[u] Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 22. ſays ſhe was a legitimate daughter. Fabian, in his reign of John ſays, that ſhe was a natural one. Welſh Chron. p. 259.

[x] Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 24. Britiſh Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

by

by Llewelyn and defeated;[y] and ſome time after, he himſelf, with his ſon Owen were ſlain at Conway.[z]

Some years after this event, Gwenwynwyn came to Shrewſbury, to confer with the lords of the council. On his arrival he was detained a priſoner,[a] without any apparent cauſe, unleſs to extort, as conditions of obtaining his liberty, the following conceſſions. That he ſhould, in the uſual forms, become a vaſſal to the king of England; that he ſhould ſerve him faithfully as holding under him his life and territories; that he ſhould abide the juſtice of his courts whenever ſummoned to attend; that he ſhould deliver up twenty hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty; and ſhould remain in cuſtody until thoſe hoſtages were all given up. At the ſame time the king bound himſelf
Ann. Dom. 1208. to take his territories under his protection, and to be reſponſible for any injury which they might receive.[b]

In this ſituation of Powis, Llewelyn invaded that country, and gained poſſeſſion of all the caſtles and towns in that part belonging to the impriſoned chieftain; he then marched into South Wales, and after ſome ſlight ſucceſſes returned into his own country.[c] The ſame year, in conſequence of the ſubmiſſion of Llewelyn, as appears by his letters directed to the

[y] Welſh Chron. p. 259.
[z] Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 13.
[a] Welſh Chron. p. 260.
[b] Rymer's Fædera, vol. I. p. 151.
[c] Welſh Chron. p. 261.

king

king at Briſtol, a full pardon was granted him by that monarch for the depredations he had lately made on the territories of Gwenwynwyn, while under his protection;[d] which pardon appears alſo to have been confirmed the year following; as the Welſh prince did homage, either in perſon or by proxy, to the king at Woodſtock.[e] Ann. Dom. 1209.

The earl of Cheſter this year made an inroad into North Wales, which was of no other conſequence than that of rebuilding the caſtle of Diganwy upon the water of the Conway, which had been lately demoliſhed by Llewelyn; he likewiſe more ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of Treffynnon or Holywell. Llewelyn, in return, invaded the earl's territories, deſolated a great part of them, and returned home loaded with the plunder he had taken.[f]

Incensed at this incurſion, and breach of fidelity, John aſſembled a large army at Oſweſtry upon the Borders; where he was joined by many of the Welſh chieftains his vaſſals; the moſt conſiderable of whom were Madoc ap Gryffydh Maelor, and Gwenwynwyn on this occaſion reſtored to his liberty, and the two ſons of Rhys, the late prince of South Wales. With this formidable army he marched to Cheſter,

[d] Rymer's Fædera, vol. I. p. 151.

[e] Math. Paris, p. 191. who ſays, that this was the firſt homage which had ever been heard of, and that ſuch journies were very oppreſſive both to the rich and poor.

[f] Welſh Chron. p. 262.

in

in the full reſolution of exterminating the people of North Wales.[g]

Llewelyn unable to oppoſe a force, compoſed not only of a foreign enemy, but of his own vaſſals, who had baſely deſerted their late engagements, thought it prudent to withdraw from the ſtorm, and he ordered the inhabitants of the inland country, a part of Denbighſhire and Flintſhire, to remove with their goods and cattle to the mountains of Snowdun. The Engliſh then advanced along the ſea coaſt to Rhuddlan, and from thence to the caſtle of Diganwy[h] oppoſite to the country of Snowdun, where they remained for ſome time. But Llewelyn ſo continually infeſted the roads with his light parties, that John and his army were reduced to the greateſt difficulties. By cutting off their proviſions as they arrived out of England, the army was reduced to the neceſſity of feeding upon the fleſh of horſes; and the ſoldiers, whenever they ſtirred from the camp, were liable to be cut in pieces; the Welſh from a knowledge of the country, and from being poſted on eminences, had uſually the advantage in every ſkirmiſh. From this ſituation, John thought it prudent, after the loſs he had ſuſtained, to retreat into England, ſtung with diſgrace, and breathing the ſpirit of revenge.[i]

[g] Welſh Chron. p. 264.

[h] Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welſh Chron. p. 264. [i] Ibid.

A few

A few months after, the king, having augmented his army, came again to Oſweſtry; and being joined by his Welſh confederates advanced to the Conway; which having paſſed, he encamped his army upon the banks of that river; he then diſpatched ſome troops with proper guides to burn the town of Bangor, which order was inſtantly executed, and the biſhop of that place taken priſoner, who was afterwards ranſomed for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn, ſeeing the force of England and Wales combined againſt him, and that force commanded by an Engliſh monarch, who had penetrated far into his country, himſelf likewiſe confined within the extreme verge of his dominions, thought it more prudent to ſue for peace, at the expence of ſome important conceſſions, than to hazard the whole by carrying on ſo unequal a conteſt. As he had in his own perſon ſo little pretenſions to favour, having lately violated the probable conditions of his pardon, Llewelyn thought it more wiſe to negociate by the mediation of his wife. This princeſs ſo powerfully interceded with her father, that he was willing, on certain conditions, to take Llewelyn into favour. Hoſtages were ſent to that prince, that he might with ſafety repair to the Engliſh camp, where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the conditions of giving forty horſes, and twenty thouſand head of cattle towards defraying the expences of the war; he likewiſe ceded to the king for ever the inland parts of his dominions. Twenty-eight hoſtages were given by

Llewelyn as a ſecurity for the obſervance of the treaty. After this fortunate expedition John returned into England.[k] Reſenting the conduct of thoſe vaſſals who had not ſerved him in the late expedition, he exacted from every knight, a ſcutage of two marks of ſilver.[l]

Ann. Dom. 1212.

THUS was the remnant of the Britiſh empire, after many and gallant ſtruggles for freedom, driven almoſt to the verge of the ocean. But the proſperity of this injured people, though deeply clouded for the preſent, was not extinguiſhed for ever. Their native ſpirit, confined in narrow limits, and ſet on fire by the agency of various cauſes, burſt through every reſtraint; and, like the irruptive violence of a volcano, poured down devaſtation and vengeance on the heads of their hated oppreſſors.

THE wild diſorder in the conduct of the king of England, happily for poſterity, had convulſed every part of his dominions, and, aided by ſuperſtition, had looſened every ſpring of government, and every tie of duty or affection which binds the ſubject to the prince. The Pope, at this time, releaſed Wales from the interdict under which it had lain, and

[k] Annales Margan, p. 15, ſays thirty-two hoſtages. Welſh Chron. p. 265. Thomas Wykes, p. 36. Chron. Walter Hemingford, p. 556.

[l] Math. Paris, p. 193, 194.

and absolved Llewelyn from the oaths of homage and allegiance which he had taken at the late peace.[m]

A CONJUNCTURE so favourable determined Llewelyn, if possible, to extricate his country out of the vassalage, into which it had lately fallen by the necessity of affairs, and the disunion of its chieftains. For this purpose he convened before him Gwenwynwyn, and Madoc ap Gryffydh Maelor the lords of Powis, with Maelgwyn ap Rhys from South Wales, and Meredydh ap Rotpert from Cydewen. To these chieftains he represented the miserable situation of their country, owing to their own want of virtue, in having basely deserted its interest; he assured them, even now, by their spirit and united exertions, instead of living abject and voluntary vassals under the pressure of a foreign yoke, they might still enjoy their ancient liberties under the dominion of their native princes. Superstition, or the force of his reasoning, or the mingled effect of both, impressed on the minds of these capricious chieftains a momentary gleam of patriotism. They once more took the oaths of allegiance to their prince. Llewelyn, being joined by their several powers, suddenly commenced hostilities, seising all the fortresses which the English possessed in his dominions, and putting to the sword with a barbarous rage all the knights and soldiers who defended them; besides setting on fire many villages,

Ann. Dom. 1213.

[m] Math. Paris, p. 194; Annales Waverleiensis, p. 174. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 26.

and carrying away very confiderable plunder.[n] Not being able to make any impreffion on the caftles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan, he fell upon Powis, and invefted the caftle of Mathraval, lately fortified by Robert Vepont; but the ftrength of that fortrefs for fome time delaying his operations, gave John an opportunity of coming to its relief. On his approach the confederates retired.

Having caufed this fortrefs to be demolifhed, the king returned into England, more important objects in his own dominions demanding his attention. On his departure, Llewelyn again laid wafte the marches with fire and fword.[o]

As foon as John heard of this incurfion, of the ravages which Llewelyn had made, and of the cruelties he had exercifed on his prifoners, he advanced to Nottingham with a great army of infantry and horfe; in the full refolution of chaftifing the revolters, by extirminating the inhabitants of the country. So violent was his anger, that the moment he arrived at that place, he commanded the hoftages, twenty-eight in number, to be inftantly hanged; and he refufed to take any refrefhment until the execution was over.[p] The moft cruel of the Roman tyrants, thofe fcourges of the human race, had furely, at this inftant, infufed his infernal fpirit into that of the Englifh

[n] Math. Paris, p. 194. [o] Welfh Chron. p. 267.
[p] Math. Paris, p. 194.

monarch.

monarch. These innocent victims,[q] delivered to John at the late peace, were all of them very young, and allied to the most distinguished families in Wales.[r] This tragedy being finished, while he was yet at table meditating vengeance on the Welsh, he received two letters, one of which was from the king of Scotland, and the other was from his daughter[s] the wife of prince Llewelyn. These letters, though proceeding from different quarters, conveyed to him the same alarming intelligence, that a dangerous conspiracy was forming against his life. This information threw the English monarch into the deepest dismay; he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, where he continued a fortnight in a sullen and gloomy solitude, no person whatever being admitted into his presence. Having made no farther discovery in the affair, time at length dispersed his fears, and persisting in the design of subduing the Welsh, he advanced to Chester. He once more received at this place from the princess his daughter intimations of the same alarming import, that if he advanced any farther, his ruin was inevitable, as he would certainly be either murdered by the nobility in his army, or be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The king's firmness, and his desire of revenge, gave way to these repeated alarms; fear and distrust

q At the same time Robert Vepont hanged Rhys the son of Maelgwyn, a child not seven years old, at Shrewsbury. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

r Annales Margan, p. 15. Holinshead, p. 176. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

s Welsh Chron. p. 267.

took

took poſſeſſion of his mind; and hearing at the ſame time that the Pope had diſſolved the allegiance of his ſubjects, he diſmiſſed his army on a ſudden, and returned to London.[t]

The animoſity natural to men, who had juſt broken aſunder their fetters, and who were eager to regain their liberty, was heightened ſtill more by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. The Welſh had not only been releaſed from the oaths they had taken to John, but the Pope had likewiſe denounced his bittereſt curſes, if they did not, under the banners of the church, riſe up to fulminate its vengeance, by attempting the utter deſtruction of a prince who had preſumed to contemn his authority. Influenced by theſe motives, the inhabitants of the inland country, which at the late peace had been ceded to John, acknowledged the ſovereignty of Llewelyn.[u] He ſoon after gained poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan, places of great importance on the frontier of his kingdom.[x] Thus were the English by a ſudden turn in affairs entirely driven out of North Wales.[y] But this prince, inſtead of checking his fortunes took advantage of the tide that was flowing in his favour, and preſſing forwards with an eager ſpirit after glory, enlarged the circle of his conqueſts, and added freſh

Ann. Dom. 1214.

[t] Math. Paris, p. 194. Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 482. Annal. Waverlenſis, p. 173. Thomas Wyke's, p. 37. Holinſhead, p. 176.

[u] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 174. Welſh Chron. p. 268, 270.

[x] Ibid. [y] Annales Margan, p. 15.

reputation

reputation to his arms. The diſſenſions, at this time, prevailing in England favoured his deſigns.

The Engliſh barons, having renounced their allegiance to John on his refuſal to confirm their conſtitutional rights, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of Wales.[z] It ſeems as if this alliance had given great alarm to the Engliſh monarch, as he ſent an order to Llewelyn to meet his commiſſioners at Griffin's Croſs, that the Welſh prince might confer with them on matters of importance which related to his intereſt and honour.[a] At the ſame time, with a verſatility of conduct which inſulted the common ſenſe of mankind, the Pope excommunicated Llewelyn and all his adherents, for having made war upon a prince,[b] recently the object of his vengeance, but who of late had been admitted into the boſom of the church; a privilege he had meanly purchaſed by conceſſions, degrading to the dignity of princes, as well as injurious to the rights of his people, and the imperial crown of his anceſtors. But, in defiance of this ſentence, Llewelyn marched into Powis; no longer intimidated by cenſures ſo ſcandalouſly proſtituted, nor by oaths of allegiance from which he had been lately abſolved. Having, with much eaſe taken poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Shrewſbury, he returned into his own

[z] Welſh Chron. p. 270. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 182.

[a] Rymer's Fædera, p. 196.

[b] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 182. Welſh Chron. p. 271.

dominions;

Ann. Dom. 1215. dominions; and, in order to ſtrengthen the intereſt of his family by alliance, he gave his daughter in marriage to Reginald de Bruce, an Engliſh lord of great power in South Wales.[c]

Soon after this enterpriſe, Llewelyn, with a conſiderable force, inveſted the caſtle of Caermarthen, which he took after a reſiſtance of five days, and levelled it to the ground. The ſame fate attended the caſtles of Llanſtephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. He then marched into Caerdigan, and gained the caſtles of Emlyn, Comaes, and Newport; then cloſing the campaign by the reduction of the caſtles of Aberteivi and Cilgerran, he returned into his own dominions. In this expedition he was attended by all the confederate chieftains, whoſe attachment to his intereſt he had hitherto ſecured by the wiſdom and vigour of his conduct.[d]

The late fortunate campaign having given to the Welſh prince a great part of South Wales, he came again into the country as the lord paramount, to arbitrate ſome diſputes which had ariſen in the family of the late Rhys ap Gryffydh. Having adjuſted the ſeveral claims by a
Ann. Dom. 1216. diviſion of the country in diſpute, as he was returning into his own dominions, he received intelligence that Gwen-

[c] Welſh Chron. p. 273.

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 273. Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 26.

wynwyn,

wynwyn, the lord of a part of powis, had renounced his allegiance, and was again become a vaſſal to the Engliſh king. This information gave Llewelyn the greateſt uneaſineſs; he ſaw the evil that would ariſe, if a chieftain of ſuch influence and power as Gwenwynwyn ſhould, at ſuch a juncture as this, deſert the confederacy, when fortune had hitherto ſo happily favoured the united exertion of their arms. Deſirous, by the mildeſt means, of drawing him back to a ſenſe of his duty and honour, Llewelyn ſent ſeveral biſhops, and other religious perſons to remonſtrate with him on the nature of his conduct. They pointed out to him the oaths he had violated, ſhewed him the very deed ſubſcribed by himſelf, which he had given as a pledge of his fidelity, the clemency alſo of the prince he had offended, and the danger of expoſing to the reſentment of Llewelyn the hoſtages left in his hands. Theſe conſiderations were urged in vain. Gwenwynwyn was obſtinate, and would liſten to no terms. Llewelyn, then, that his juſtice might puniſh the delinquency of a vaſſal whom his mildneſs had not been able to reclaim, inſtantly invaded Powis, laid waſte with fire and ſword the territories of that chieftain, and obliged him to fly for aſſiſtance into the dominions of the earl of Cheſter.[e]

At this time Lewis the Dauphin of France, by the invitation of the malecontent barons, came into England. John,

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 274.

unable to resist the confederacy formed against him, retreated to Hereford in the marches of Wales; and sent to solicit the assistance and friendship of Llewelyn his son-in-law, and of Reginald de Bruce. Neither ties of affinity, nor the emotions of pity, had, however, any influence on the conduct of Llewelyn. On just principles of policy, he rejected the solicitations of the unfortunate monarch. Experience, and the strength of his mind would inform him, that no confidence ought to be placed in a prince so weak and capricious; that the ascendency his arms had lately gained over England was principally owing to the distracted state of that kingdom; and that it was his duty, as the guardian of the public weal, to foment its divisions; the liberties of his own country depending in a great measure on the weakness, or disunion of the English. John, resenting this conduct in the Welsh prince, demolished the castles of Radnor and Haye; after which, proceeding farther into the marches he set fire to the town of Oswestry.[f]

In a little time after these events, this weak and miserable prince ended his days. His son, Henry the third, yet an infant, succeeded to the crown of England.

Ann. Dom. 1217. On the accession of the young prince, Reginald de Bruce returned to the allegiance which he owed to the English monarch, deserting in a moment of caprice the solemn

[f] Welsh Chron. p. 275.

engagements

engagements he had made to the prince of Wales. It ſeems in theſe miſerable ages, as if oaths, and the other ſacred ties of ſociety, had loſt all their power of binding the conſcience.

As ſoon as Llewelyn heard of this event, he came into Brecknock, the territory belonging to Bruce, and laid ſiege to Aberhonddu its principal town; but the inhabitants imploring his mercy, he conſented to raiſe the ſiege, on condition of receiving five hoſtages, and one hundred marks. He then continued his march towards Gwyr, and, paſſing over the black mountains in Glamorganſhire, loſt many of his carriages. While his army lay encamped at Llangruc, Bruce came attended by ſix knights to implore the clemency of his father-in-law; a favour he eaſily obtained, being received not only in the mildeſt manner, but having a fortreſs given him as an additional proof of the prince's confidence. Having regulated the affairs of that province, Llewelyn marched into Dyvet, and at Cefn Cynwarchan received propoſals of peace from the Flemings who were ſettled in the country. He refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation; and part of his army having paſſed the Cledheu in order to attack the Flemings, the biſhop of St. Davids attended by his clergy repaired to the prince, in hopes his ſolicitations and the influence of religion, might ſoften his reſentment. At length, after much debate, the interceſſion of the biſhop prevailed, and a peace was

concluded; on the conditions, that the inhabitants of Rhos and Pembroke ſhould be ſubject to the prince of North Wales; and, as their liege lord, ſhould hold of him their lands under the duties of fealty and homage; that they ſhould pay him one thouſand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and ſhould likewiſe deliver twenty hoſtages, of the firſt note in their country, as a pledge of their fidelity.[g]

Having in two fortunate campaigns made himſelf almoſt the entire maſter of Wales, Llewelyn returned into his own territories; encircled with more ſolid glory than could be derived from conqueſts, illuſtrious only from the wide ſweep which their ravages had taken.

The ardour with which the Engliſh barons had engaged in the cauſe of Lewis, was by this time much cooled, owing to the perfidy of that prince, and to the inſolent nature of his conduct. The great talents of the earl of Pembroke ſeiſed the fortunate moment. Guided by ſentiments of the pureſt patriotiſm, he drew back to their allegiance the revolted barons, and ſettled the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom on principles the moſt humane, liberal, and wiſe. In this treaty, equally with the king of Scotland, Llewelyn was included, on condition that he ſhould reſtore all the places he had ſeiſed during the war.[h]

[g] Welſh Chron. p. 278.

[h] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

It

It is probable on this occaſion, that the prince of Wales received a ſummons to repair with the chief of his nobility to Hereford, as an order was at that time ſent to Hugh Mortimer, provided Llewelyn came there, and was abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, to eſcort him to Northampton, where he and his attendants were to do homage to the king.[i] It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this ſummons; as at this time, the earl of Pembroke, by force of arms, took poſſeſſion of the city of Caer Lleon;[k] and in the following year, he received a ſimilar order to appear before the king at Glouceſter, there to perform his homage in preſence of the council and the Pope's legate. To this ſummons Llewelyn thought proper to pay obedience. Being abſolved by the legate, he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty, promiſing to reſtore, with their reſpective territories, the caſtles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan; as well as all other lands and fortreſſes which had been taken during the war from Henry's vaſſals in South Wales. Under the like ſolemn engagements, he promiſed, that all the nobility in Wales ſhould, by every means in his power, do homage to Henry, as to their liege lord; that none of his enemies ſhould be allowed protection in Wales; and that, whatever injuries the king might receive, he would revenge them as if they had been done to himſelf.[l] Ann. Dom. 1218.

i Rymer's Fædera, vol. I. p. 225.
k Welſh Chron. p. 278. l Rymer, vol. I. p. 225.

In

In ſo proſperous a ſtate of his affairs, we are at a loſs to account for this conduct of Llewelyn. The wiſdom and vigour of Pembroke's adminiſtration, or the dread of ſpiritual anathemas, acting upon his own ſuperſtition, or on that of his people, might ſhake on this occaſion the firmneſs of his mind. If we conſider his conduct as derogating only from the dignity of an independent ſovereign, the idea of diſhonour is loſt in the nature and habits of a feudal government. Even the king of Scotland, the year before, had performed the ſame duty at Northampton. But the homage paid by that prince was due by mutual agreement for the fiefs he poſſeſſed in England; whereas the duties impoſed on Llewelyn, had been extorted, at various times, without any equivalent. As it is opinion alone that gives dignity to princes and energy to government, theſe claims of the Engliſh, aſſuming a royal juriſdiction over Wales, and riſing every day into precedent, were highly dangerous to its freedom, and were in the end the means of ſapping the foundation of its power. A tacit acquieſcence in claims ſucceſſively made, in length of time conſtitutes a right. The habit of ſeeing the Welſh princes, paſſing as vaſſals through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, would naturally produce, in the minds of the Engliſh, contemptuous ideas of an enemy, whom hitherto they had only heard of at a diſtance, or had ſeen ſpreading terror and conflagration through the frontiers. The Welſh, too, muſt loſe much of that veneration which they themſelves had been accuſtomed to feel for their princes, when inſtead

inſtead of ſeeing them at the head of armies aſſerting the public freedom, they ſaw them, on every call which pride or policy ſuggeſted, deſert the dignity of their ſtations; and like obſequious vaſſals fall at the feet of a faſtidious monarch, the hereditary foe of their nation. In the habit of conſidering their country as a fief of the crown of England, a fond attachment to its intereſts, a ſenſe of national glory, and all manly ideas of patriotiſm, would loſe their energy and force, and ſink at length into a cold indifference to its fate. Having neither empire nor freedom to contend for, their valour and their mountains would be equally uſeleſs, and no longer fed from its parent ſource, their native ſpirit, eager for liberty, and impatient of controul would naturally ſubſide into a tame and hereditary obedience.

In conſequence of the conceſſions made by Llewelyn, the king ſent to acquaint him that ſeveral of the Welſh nobility had done homage, and enjoined him to give them poſſeſſion of their eſtates; he likewiſe required that the remaining chiefs ſhould be ſent to perform their ſtipulated duties.[m] Agreeably to this injunction, Llewelyn ſent Rhys an eminent chieftain in South Wales, to do homage to Henry. Then, with an inconſiſtency of conduct, accounted for only by the levity of the times, he placed new levies of

[m] Rymer's Fædera, p. 227.

soldiers

soldiers in the castles of Caermarthen and Abertievi, instead of delivering them up in conformity to his late engagements.[o]

In the same year, that prince gave another of his daughters in marriage to John de Bruce an English baron.[p]

Ann. Dom. 1219. The Flemings having seised by force on the castle of Abertievi, Llewelyn marched into that country, and regaining possession of it, razed the fortress, and put the garrison to the sword; he then advanced into the territory of Gwys, where, likewise destroying that castle, he set fire to the town; and penetrating farther, he continued his ravages into Rhos and Daugleddeu[q] and as far as the gates of the castle of Haverfordwest.[r]

Ann. Dom. 1220.

In consequence of this, Henry wrote a letter to Llewelyn, complaining of the late violation of the peace, of his neglect to appear at Oxford, and afterwards in London, agreeably to the summonses he had received; enjoining him, at the same time to repair to Worcester on a certain day, to answer the charges which might be brought against him.[s] It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any obedience to this summons.

Some time after, he laid siege to the castle of Buellt the property of Reginald de Bruce, who sending to the king in-

[o] Welsh Chron. p. 279. [p] Ibid.
[q] Or two swords. [r] Welsh Chron. p. 279. [s] Rymer's Fædera. p. 249.

telligence

telligence of his danger, that prince came to his relief;[t] and Llewelyn ſeeing his forces inferior to the Engliſh, raiſed the ſiege and returned into his own territories. Then the king, returning towards the marches, rebuilt the caſtle of Montgomery, in a ſituation he thought impregnable, as a check to the incurſions of the Welſh.[u] Sometime after this event Llewelyn married another of his daughters to a Scots lord, who was nephew to the earl of Cheſter.[x] Ann. Dom. 1221.

Amidst the anxieties which attend on a public ſituation, the private peace of Llewelyn was embittered by the turbulent ſpirit of his eldeſt ſon Gryffydh. This young prince, without his father's conſent, had ſeiſed on the Cantrev of Meirionydh; affecting to hold it independently of his authority. Not of a temper tamely to bear ſuch an inſult, Llewelyn commanded his ſon to appear before him. Gryffydh refuſed to obey his commands. On this, Llewelyn ſwore that he would take ample vengeance on his ſon, and all his adherents, for the diſhonour they had done to his character as a ſovereign and a father. With this deſign he marched a conſiderable force into Meirionydh. Gryffydh, determining to abide the iſſue of arms, raiſed his followers, and met Llewelyn in the field; but during the action and accommodation took place; the ſon, yielding himſelf up to the mercy of his father, and imploring forgiveneſs, was Ann. Dom. 1223.

[t] Rymer, p. 261.

[u] Math. Paris, p. 262. [x] Holinſhead, p. 204.

received into favour. But though Llewelyn, amidſt the conflict of arms, indulging the tender feelings of a parent, thought proper to pardon his ſon, he did not entirely forget the offence; but with a proper ſeverity, deprived him of that diſtrict which had been the cauſe of ſo flagrant a failure in his duty.[y]

Rhys the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, lately a vaſſal to the prince of Wales, having revolted to the earl of Pembroke; under the influence of chagrine and diſappointment Llewelyn took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth and all its dependencies. The Welſh chieftain on this repaired to Henry to complain of the injury, and to ſolicit his protection. The Engliſh king commanded Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewſbury; and that prince obeying his order, the diſpute was amicably ſettled.[z]

Llewelyn, in the abſence of the earl of Pembroke then in Ireland, laid waſte his lands, and took two of his caſtles; then, cutting off the heads of all the ſoldiers he had found in theſe fortreſſes, and placing garriſons in them out of his own army, he made good his retreat.[a] In order to puniſh this outrage, Henry came with an army into the marches, but, without performing any military exploit, he ſoon

[y] Welſh Chron. p. 280. [z] Ibid. p. 281, 282.

[a] Chr. Thos. Wykes, p. 41. Chronica Walteri. Hemingford, p. 564. Math. Weſtm. p. 86. Math. Paris, p. 267.

returned

returned into England; the earl of Cheſter having interceded in behalf of the Welſh prince, and engaged for him that he ſhould by a certain day, make reſtitution for the injuries he had done. But, Llewelyn, ſeeing the danger over, was not very attentive to fulfil the engagement.[b]

In the mean time, the earl of Pembroke, hearing the ravages committed on his territories, landed at St. Davids with a ſtrong body of forces, and having recovered the caſtles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, he retaliated on the Welſh garriſons the cruel treatment his own men had lately received from Llewelyn.[c] This prince, to preſerve his territories in South Wales, which his enemies were deſtroying with fire and ſword, ſent his ſon Gryffydh with an army of nine thouſand men. Having advanced to Cydweli, intimations were given that the inhabitants intended to betray him to the enemy; upon which, in reſentment of their perfidy, Gryffydh laid the town and all the churches in aſhes.[d] The earl of Pembroke then paſſed the Tywy at Caermarthen, and an action immediately enſued; it was fought with great valour and with doubtful ſucceſs; in the evening each party retired from the field of battle, the river forming a line between the two armies. In this ſituation they lay ſeveral days oppoſite to each other, at length the

[b] Chronica. Walteri. Hemingford, p. 564.

[c] Welſh Chron. p. 282. Math. Paris, p. 267.

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 282.

 Welſh

Welſh prince, in want of proviſions, was obliged to break up his camp, and to return into North Wales.[e]

Pembroke proceeding to Cilgerran, began to erect a fortreſs; but receiving an order from Henry to come up directly to court, he left the work to be completed by his ſoldiers.[f] At the ſame time a ſummons was ſent to Llewelyn, that he ſhould appear before the king at Shrewſbury, attended by his wife, his ſon Gryffydh, and the chief of his nobility, that prince expecting that by the force of his authority alone he ſhould be able to end the diſpute.[g] A truce however was only obtained; and each party, intending to renew hoſtilities, returned to their reſpective territories. The deſign of the earl of Pembroke, who had been joined by the forces of other Engliſh lords, of marching into Pembroke, was defeated by the rapid movements of Llewlyn, who ſent his ſon to take poſſeſſion of the paſs at Carnwylhion, whilſt he himſelf took poſt at Mabedryd. The openings into the country being thus obſtructed, the earl returned into England, and the prince of Wales into his own dominions.[h]

On this occaſion, the archbiſhop of York excommunicated Llewelyn, and his country was laid under an inter-

e Welſh Chron. p. 282. Math. Paris, p. 267, who ſays that the Welſh were defeated with great ſlaughter.

f Welſh Chron, p. 282.

g Rymer's Fædera, vol. I. p. 287.

h Welſh Chron. p. 283.

dict,

dict, until he had made satisfaction to Henry; which if not performed within six months, his subjects were then to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance.[i] Ann. Dom. 1225.

In the history of these times no incident worthy of notice occurs till this year. The soldiers belonging to the castle of Montgomery, assisted by the people of the country, attempted to open a road through an adjoining forest, a deep and extensive cover of five miles, which had long afforded the Welsh a secure retreat; who frequently issuing from thence, pillaged and murdered the passengers. While the workmen were thus employed in cutting down the woods, they were suddenly attacked by a body of the Welsh, who, with great slaughter, obliged them to fly into the castle, which they invested, and laid siege to in a regular manner. In this extremity the garrison sent into England for assistance, and Henry, attended by Hubert de Burgh, on whom the castle had been lately conferred, came to its relief with all possible haste. On the approach of the English king the Welsh raised the siege. Ann. Dom. 1228.

Having received a reinforcement, Henry ventured to penetrate the recesses of the forest. With infinite difficulty he opened a passage for his army by setting fire to the woods, and at length arrived at a solitary place called

[i] Rymer, vol. I. p. 282.

Cridia,

Cridia, an abbey belonging to the white monks. Having been informed that this houſe had been uſed by the Welſh as a place of retreat, he laid it in aſhes. The ſituation being judged impregnable, Hubert de Burgh, with the king's conſent, laid the foundation of a caſtle.

In the middle of a deep foreſt, in an enemy's country, and ſurrounded by their flying parties, the ſituation of the Engliſh was exceedingly perilous. Three months did Henry employ his whole army and expoſe it to various dangers in attempting to build an inſignificant fortreſs. In the courſe of that time, the Welſh, watching every movement, intercepted his convoys, and frequently cut in pieces his foraging parties. William de Bruce, whoſe ferocious manners we have often recited, having been ſent into the country in ſearch of proviſions, was taken by Llewelyn and thrown into priſon. Proviſions at length grew exceedingly ſcarce. To heighten his diſtreſs, Henry had much cauſe to fear that treaſon had pervaded his camp; as ſeveral of the Engliſh Lords in the intereſt of Llewelyn, had ſent that prince intelligence of each occurrence, and had aſſiſted him, to the utmoſt of their power, in obſtructing and defeating the enterpriſe. In a ſituation ſo critical, the pride and reſolution of Henry gave way to a ſenſe of danger. He found it expedient to give over his deſign, and to conclude a peace with Llewelyn, on the condition of levelling to the ground the caſtle he had lately finiſhed; in the building of which he had waſted ſo much time,

time, and treaſure, as well as the blood of his ſubjects. The prince of Wales on his part, agreed to pay Henry three thouſand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and alſo that the right owner of this territory ſhould hold it as a fief of the crown of England.[k] He alſo made his appearance in the Engliſh camp, to pay his reſpects to king Henry; but in no meaſure on the footing of a ſubordinate prince to do him homage.[l]

In this manner ended the campaign, inglorious to Henry, yet reflecting little luſtre on the military talents of Llewelyn; who ſurely might have obtained better terms from an enemy, ſurrounded with difficulties, and entangled like a lion in the toils.

To inure the Welſh ſtill more to the ideas of vaſſalage, Henry ſent a ſafe conduct to his nephew to repair to his court; where David the ſon of Llewelyn received a penſion of forty pounds a year, until a better proviſion could be made for him; having firſt done homage, and ſworn to hold his reverſionary dignity as a fief under England.[m] The little value of the bribe compared with the object, is a proof that ſcarcely the idea of diſhonour was at this time annexed to vaſſalage. Ann. Dom. 1229.

[k] Math. Paris, 295. Math. of Weſtminſter, p. 94. Holinſhead, p. 210.
[l] Rymer, p. 311. [m] Welſh Chron. p. 284.

LLEWELYN

Llewelyn had yet another blow to ſuſtain, which was an injury of all others the moſt poignant. William de Bruce taken priſoner at the affair of Montgomery, on paying a ranſom of three thouſand marks, had been releaſed the following year from his captivity. He ſoon after, by ſurpriſe, fell again into the ſame ſituation, and having been diſcovered in carrying on an amour with the Welſh princeſs, the ſiſter of Henry and the wife of Llewelyn, he ſuffered an ignominious death by the command of the injured huſband.[n]

Soon after this event, three of the Welſh clergy were ſent by Llewelyn under a ſafe conduct into England, moſt probably to account for the late tranſaction. That prince himſelf received a ſummons to appear before the king at Shrewſbury,[o] who reſented the act of juſtice lately exerciſed on Bruce. Inſtead of obeying the order, he led an army into the marches, and ſtill purſuing his revenge laid waſte the territory lately belonging to Bruce;[p] then with the ſame fury continuing his march, no place ſcarcely on the marches was left free from his devaſtations.[q]

[n] Math. Weſtm. p. 97, ſays, with other Engliſh writers, that he was put to death without reaſon. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2431. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, p. 572. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 193. Pol. Vergil, p. 298. Math. Paris, p. 307. [o] Math. Paris, p. 310. Holinſhead, p. 213.

[p] He was lord of Brecknock in South Wales, and of Pembre in Suſſex. See Edward Lhuyd's MSS. in collection of Sir John Seabright.

[q] Rymer, vol. I. p. 317.

To put a ſtop to theſe ravages, Henry came again with great celerity into the confines of Wales. On the king's approach Llewelyn retired to the mountains. Finding his preſence no longer neceſſary, Henry left Hubert de Burgh with a body of forces to preſerve the peace of the Borders.

Another party of the Welſh, hearing that the king was retired, made an incurſion into the lands adjoining to the caſtle of Montgomery; but on their return, the Engliſh, having taken poſſeſſion of a poſt which cut off their retreat, ſuddenly attacked them, and putting to the ſword the greater part of their numbers, the remainder were brought into the caſtle as priſoners. The captives were inſtantly beheaded at the command of the juſticiary; and the heads of theſe unfortunate men were ſent into England as a preſent to Henry.[r] The Welſh already began Ann. Dom. 1231. to taſte the bitter fruits which they themſelves had produced by a voluntary ſurrender of their rights; and by tamely ſubmitting to be conſidered as the vaſſals of a foreign prince, they gave ſome colour of juſtice to the cruel ſpirit of their enemies.

It was not in the nature of the times to enter into ſubtle diſtinctions, or into a cool diſcuſſion of rights, which the timidity or weakneſs of the Welſh princes had often

[r] Math. Paris, p. 310. Polidore Vergil, p. 300.

brought into controverſy; it was more ſuited to the feelings of men, warm, iraſcible, and vindictive, to determine their merits, or to puniſh their infringement, by the more prompt deciſion of arms.

As ſoon as Llewelyn heard of the outrage lately committed on his ſubjects, he laid waſte the Engliſh borders with fire and ſword. Among other acts of ferocity that marked his progreſs, ſome ladies of diſtinction, venerable for their years, and ſeveral virgins of a tender age, having taken ſanctuary in one of the churches, periſhed in the flames, the indiſcriminate victims of his fury.[s] In the general conſternation Hubert de Burgh fled into England. Llewelyn, then, took by aſſault, the caſtle of Montgomery, the ſcene of the late tranſaction; and, making himſelf maſter of the ſeveral fortreſſes of Radnor, Aberhonddu, and Rhaiadrgwy, he inveſted Caer Leon. After ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs in attempting to reduce its caſtle, the town was taken, and, with the church, reduced to aſhes. The ſame fate attended the caſtles of Neth in Glamorganſhire, and Cydweli. With a barbarity diſgraceful to Llewelyn, the ſoldiers belonging to theſe garriſons all periſhed in the flames.[t]

THIS act of retaliative juſtice, though ſevere, being reported to Henry, he applied to the Pope; who, ever fond of weaving his own intereſts into the concerns of temporal

[s] Welſh Chron. p. 287. Math. Paris, p. 310. [t] Annales Margan, p. 18.

princes

princes, excommunicated Llewelyn, and his adherents[u] Henry likewiſe ordered his vaſſals in Ireland to co-operate with his arms in the enterpriſe he had formed againſt Wales; offering them at the ſame time the alluring reward of poſſeſſing ſuch lands as they might by their ſwords obtain from the Welſh.[x] In purſuance of this deſign, he convened at Oxford, an aſſembly of his military tenants, and the principal clergy in his kingdom; and drawing from thence an army of conſiderable force, he marched to Hereford.

Llewelyn, at this time, was encamped in a meadow at a ſmall diſtance from the caſtle of Montgomery lately recovered by the Engliſh, in a part of which field was a moraſs. Near to this place was an abbey of the Ciſtercian order. A friar of this houſe, who was a perſon of addreſs, was directed by Llewelyn, if poſſible, to convey falſe intelligence to the garriſon. Some of the ſoldiers, ſeeing the friar paſſing with that deſign under the walls, came out of the caſtle; and entering into converſation with him, ſeemed deſirous of being informed of Llewelyn's ſituation. He told them, that the Welſh prince lay encamped in a certain meadow at no great diſtance, attended only by a ſmall body of men, waiting for a reinforcement; and that he had broke down a bridge that kept the communication open for fear of a ſudden attack. They then inquired if a body of horſe could ſafely paſs the moraſs, the

[u] Math. Paris, p. 310. [x] Rymer Fædera, vol. I. p. 318.

 bridge

bridge being demoliſhed; he told them that they might not only paſs with ſecurity, but likewiſe might defeat their enemies, or put them to flight, with an inconſiderable force. On this intelligence a party ſallied out on horſeback. Their approach being perceived, the Welſh, ſeemingly with great precipitation, retreated into a wood. This apparent flight animated the Engliſh to purſue them with eagerneſs; and deceived by their intelligence, the advanced party plunged deep into the moraſs. Many of theſe were either drowned or ſuffocated. At this moment, the Welſh, perceiving their diſorder, ruſhed out of the wood, and with their ſpears eaſily put to death the remainder, who, encumbered with their horſes and armour, and entangled in the moraſs, were incapable of making any defence.[y] This diſaſter haſtened the approach of the Engliſh army; and as it paſſed by the abbey, Henry, in reſentment of the friars treachery, ſet fire to its *grange* or farm, and proceeding to do the ſame by the monaſtery itſelf, the abbot ſaved it from the intended ruin, by paying three hundred marks as a ranſom. Having no other employment for his army, he rebuilt with ſtone the Ann. Dom. 1231. caſtle of Matilda; which had in former wars been demoliſhed by the Welſh.[z]

[y] Math. Paris, p. 311.

[z] Cambden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 585, built by Matilda wife to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock. Math. Paris, p. 311.

In

In the mean time, Llewelyn thought proper to consent to a short truce;[a] on terms of reciprocal advantage, and on the footing of independent states.

In this manner ended a campaign, which, considering the mighty engines employed, seemed to menace this ancient people with inevitable ruin.

Some infractions of the peace having been made on the part of the English, Llewelyn sent complaints to Henry, that no satisfaction had been given him, though he himself had been ready to make reparation for any injury done by his subjects. Henry, in return, acquainted the Welsh prince that his own avocations at present did not allow him to attend to his complaints, but that he would in a season of more leisure come into the marches, and there render him full restitution for any injuries he might have sustained.[b] For this purpose, a conference having been agreed on by the two princes, Llewelyn, under a safe conduct, came to Shrewsbury.[c] At this meeting, the commissioners appointed by either party, agreed to the following stipulations, which were immediately ratified by Henry. That a mutual restitution should take place of such lands as had been obtained in the course of the war: That the commissioners should fix the value of the damage, and determine by whom the

Ann. Dom. 1233.

[a] Rymer, vol. I. p. 319. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 553.
[b] Rymer, p. 320. [c] Ibid. p. 325.

reparation

reparation was to be made: That if any new matter of complaint ſhould ariſe during the truce, the point in diſpute ſhould be finally decided by the commiſſioners; each prince engaging to abide by their award. In this treaty, Llewelyn was obliged to renew his homage, and to give ſecurity for preſerving the peace of the Engliſh realm.[d]

The violent conduct of Henry and his miniſters had at length driven many of the Engliſh barons into open revolt. Of the moſt conſiderable note were the lord Pembroke earl mareſchal, Gilbert Baſſet and his brothers, Richard Siward, and Walter de Clifford. Theſe lords, withdrawing from the danger that threatened them, retired into Wales; and there entered into a firm league with Llewelyn; engaging each other by the moſt ſolemn ties not to make peace but with the common conſent of the confederacy.[e] Alarmed at this revolt, rendered formidable by an union with the Welſh prince, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Glouceſter.[f]

In the mean time, the confederates laid deſolate the marches, conveying away the cattle and other proviſions.[g] They likewiſe received an acceſſion of ſtrength on being joined by Hubert de Burgh the juſticiary; who, having

[d] Rymer, p. 327.

[e] Math. Paris, p. 326, 328. Polidore Vergil, p. 301. [f] Ibid.

[g] Ibid.

been

been perſecuted to the utmoſt peril of his life, at this time eſcaped out of priſon, and fled into Wales.[h] Henry advanced into the enemies country as far as Hereford, but finding it entirely laid waſte, and fearing leſt his army might periſh for want of neceſſary ſuſtenance, he returned back, and remained for ſome days in the caſtle of Groſmont. But his army, encamped in the open field, was attacked in the night by the earl mareſchal; who finding no diſcipline in the camp, eaſily ſurpriſed it, putting to the ſword five hundred of the Engliſh, and obliging the reſt to fly with precipitation within the walls of that caſtle. He had likewiſe the good fortune to take poſſeſſion of the money, proviſions, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the king's army. Pembroke, in this critical moment, did not purſue his ſucceſs. He gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of reſpect to his ſovereign confined in the caſtle, he offered no further hoſtilities, but retired before break of day to a ſecure ſituation, loaded with the ſpoils of the camp. On this diſaſter, many of Henry's courtiers, having loſt their military equipments, left the army, and returned into England. The king himſelf, amazed, confounded, and aſhamed at this ſudden and diſgraceful blow, having firſt garriſoned the caſtles with foreign ſoldiers, made the beſt of his way to Glouceſter; where he ſpent the Chriſtmas holidays, in hopes

[h] Math. Paris, p. 328.

that

Ann. Dom. 1233. that his presence on the Borders might be a means of keeping the malecontents in awe.[i]

The active spirit of the mareschal, no longer restrained by Henry's presence, formed the design of laying siege to Monmouth. Baldwyn de Gysnes, a foreign knight of great valour, who was then in the town, had been left by Henry with a strong body of foreigners to protect the marches. Seeing the earl busy in reconnoitering the walls, attended only by one hundred knights, he sallied out at the head of a considerable part of the garrison. Pembroke had time to retire, but his high courage disdained to avoid the danger. A terrible conflict ensued, and though he exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and prowess, such was the superior number of the enemy, that he was very near being carried off prisoner, if at that instant, Baldwyn de Gysnes had not received a wound, which being deemed mortal, the attention of the troops was diverted to the safety of their general, and gave an opportunity to the confederate army to come to the relief of the mareschal.[k] Nothing decisive taking place, Pembroke then invested Caermarthen; but the town being gallantly defended, he lay three months before it incapable of making any impression; and at length, a supply of provisions, and a reinforcement, being thrown into the place by sea, he was obliged the raise the siege.[l]

[i] Math. Paris, p. 328. Polidore Vergil, p. 301.
[k] Math. Paris, p. 329. [l] Welsh Chron. p. 289.

In order to divert the enemies attention, during these operations, Llewelyn made an inroad into the county of Brecknock, destroying all the towns and fortresses belonging to that territory; he then invested the castle of that name, and lay before it for a month; but, all his efforts proving fruitless, he raised the siege, and, setting fire to the town, pursued his rout into the marches; in the course of which, he burned the town of Clunn; then, demolishing Redde castle in Powis, and laying Oswestry in ashes, he returned into his own dominions; conflagration and ruin having marked his progress.[m] It seems as if a treaty of peace had been in agitation during the late transactions; as Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn, complains that his commissioners, agreeably to appointment, had been at Colewent, but had not there met the deputies out of Wales. In answer to which, Llewelyn said, that his commissioners had been prevented from coming there by the floods and other impediments; declaring in the mean time that he himself would preserve the peace of the Borders, and requiring Henry on his part to do the same.[n] It is somewhat extraordinary, that a negociation of so mild a nature should be carried on amidst the shock of arms, and under the irritation of deep and reiterated injuries. Ann. Dom. 1233.

To oppose a confederacy, rising into importance by the daily accession of the English nobility, John of Monmouth,

[m] Welsh Chron. p. 288. [n] Rymer, vol. I. p. 328, 329.

diſtinguiſhed for his valour and military talents, was appointed warden of the marches. That he might open the campaign with ſome eclat, he entered the confines of Wales with a conſiderable body of foreigners; in hopes that a ſudden and vigorous impreſſion might ſurpriſe the earl mareſchal; or that, by taking him off, he might ſtrike at the root of the revolt. He ſo ordered his march, as to be ready to aſſail his enemies during the ſilence and darkneſs of the night. The ſpies of the earl of Pembroke having given him intelligence, he laid an ambuſcade to counteract the deſign, by poſting his troops under the cover of a wood adjoining to a road which the enemy had to paſs. In this ſituation he waited their approach. The army of Monmouth marching in ſecurity, and little ſuſpecting a ſurpriſe, was beſet on a ſudden by a part of the earl's forces, who ruſhing out of their cover, eaſily put them to flight, confounded by the darkneſs of the night, and the loud ſhouts of their aſſailants. Numbers were ſlain upon the ſpot, and many flying into the wood, were cut in pieces by the troops ſtationed there for that purpoſe by the mareſchal. John of Monmouth their general, with a few attendants, ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight.[o] Purſuing his ſucceſs, the earl mareſchal made ſevere repriſals on the eſtates of the king's foreign councellors which lay on the Borders; and with keener animoſity, laid waſte

[o] Polidore Vergil, p. 301. Math. Paris, p. 332.

the

the lordſhips that belonged to Monmouth, deſtroying ſeveral of his houſes and villages.[p]

A few months after, Llewelyn and the mareſchal, uniting their forces, made another inroad into the marches, and having rendered all that country a ſcene of devaſtation, they ended their fiery career by laying part of the town of Shrewſbury in aſhes.[q]

During the time that the confederates remained maſters of the field, and had ſpread horror and conflagration through the Borders of England, Henry continued at Glouceſter, timid and inactive, as though he had been an indifferent ſpectator of the ſcene.[r] The prelates, on this occaſion, and the few Engliſh barons who ſtill remained at his court, urged Henry to accommodate the diſpute. Inſtead of liſtening to the ſalutary advice, that prince, equally vehement and weak, removed his court to Wincheſter; declaring he would make no peace with the mareſchal, unleſs he came with an halter about his neck, and on his knees before the throne, acknowledged himſelf to be a traitor. Pembroke rejected the propoſal with diſdain.[s]

Henry's miniſters, in deſpair of ſubduing him by any other means than by fraud, excited the earl's vaſſals

p Polidore Vergil, p. 301. Math. Paris, p. 332. q Math. Paris, p. 332.
r Math. Paris, p. 332. s Ibid.

in Ireland to revolt, under pretence that all his estates were forfeited to the crown. Receiving intelligence of this, the earl of Pembroke went over into that kingdom, attended only by fifteen knights. In this country, by the perfidy of one of his vassals, he was taken prisoner in an action, after having maintained for a long time an unequal fight, and given extraordinary proofs of valour, his horse being hamstrung, and he himself dismounted and wounded in the back. This gallant warrior languished in confinement fourteen days, and then died by the treachery of an Irish surgeon.[t]

The violence in the English administration was now risen to a crisis. The prelates of the realm, joined by the temporal lords, being assembled in parliament, called loudly on the king to redress their grievances, and to settle the distracted state of the kingdom.[u] Necessity obliging him to listen to the voice of his people, Henry dismissed his foreign ministers, and sent the prelates of Canterbury, Chester, and Rochester into Wales, to treat with Llewelyn, and the English barons engaged in his cause;[x] the king himself repairing to Gloucester to be ready to forward their negociation. The prince of Wales was exceedingly averse to enter into terms of accommodation. To induce him to comply with their wishes, the prelates ventured to mingle

[t] Math. Paris, 333, 340.
[u] Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 559. [x] Ibid.

threats

threats with their other perſuaſions, and told him, that if he refuſed their offers of peace he would certainly draw upon his head the vengeance of the church. To this menace, Llewelyn replied, that he was more influenced by the piety of king Henry and the alms which he gave, than by the terror of his arms though aided by the whole power of his clergy. At length he conſented that peace ſhould be ſettled on the baſis of juſtice and integrity; and that all the Engliſh lords, confederate with him in the war, ſhould be taken into Henry's favour, and be re-eſtabliſhed in their honours and eſtates. Theſe conditions, however humiliating, were ratified by the king; who ſent letters to all the malecontent lords to repair to him at Glouceſter, where they received the kiſs of peace from Henry as a pledge of his grace, and were likewiſe re-inſtated in their rights and inheritances.[y] At the ſame time, it is probable, to adjuſt ſome particulars left unfiniſhed in the treaty, a ſafe conduct was ſent to the deputies of Llewelyn to come into England.[z] With the juſtice due to hiſtorical truth, we have occaſionally taken the liberty of cenſuring the character of Llewelyn; it is now with pleaſure we contemplate a conduct that was wiſe, manly, and upright, which at the ſame time, that it gave his country a degree of unuſual importance, placed him in the rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of its princes. Ann. Dom. 1234.

y Polidore Vergil, p. 302. Math. Paris, p. 340.

z Rymer's Fædera, p. 332.

LLEWELYN'S

Llewelyn's heart, it is probable, being dilated with the pleaſure ariſing from the late event, he releaſed his ſon Gryffydh out of priſon, after ſix years confinement.[a]

No event worthy of notice occurs at this period until the death of Madoc ap Gryffydh Maelor, lord of the lower Powis, or Powis Vadoc; he was buried in the abbey of Llan Egweſt, or the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen in Ann. Dom. 1236. Denbighſhire, which he himſelf had erected; and left a ſon named Gryffydh to ſucceed to his territories.[b]

Llewelyn having complained to Henry that William earl mareſchal had ſeiſed a caſtle belonging to Morgan of Caer Lleon, and had taken his property and waſted his lands, the king expreſſed his diſpleaſure at the injury done him; and appointed impartial perſons to arbitrate in the diſpute. He had already cited the mareſchal to appear before his commiſſioners, and he now ſummoned the Welſh prince likewiſe to attend, either in perſon or by his deputies.[c]

A continuation of the truce for one year longer took place at Tewkſbury, on the following conditions, that full reſtitution ſhould be made to Morgan of Caer Lleon for the injuries he had received ſince the commencement of the late

[a] Welſh Chron. p. 292. [b] Ibid. p. 293.

[c] Rymer's Fædera, p. 353.

peace;

peace; that the ſubjects of both kingdoms ſhould retain all their rights and eſtates of which they were then in poſſeſſion; that on ſufficient proof of any injury being ſuſtained, reſtitution ſhould be made to either party, the damage not being prior to the truce; that neither prince ſhould receive into his protection the ſubjects belonging to the other; and that no new caſtle ſhould be erected, or old one repaired in the marches.[d] In conſequence of this, a ſafe conduct was Ann. Dom. 1236.
ſent by the king to Llewelyn's commiſſioners to repair to Shrewſbury, and there to ſwear to the conditions of the truce, and alſo to name arbitrators, who were to act on his part with the Engliſh commiſſioners, with whom reſted the final deciſion.[e]

THIS year died Joan the princeſs of Wales, and, agreeably to her deſire, was buried upon the ſea-ſhore at Llanvaes in Angleſey. To do honour to her brother the king of England, or as a tender memorial of his regard for this princeſs, Llewelyn erected over her grave a monaſtery of bare-footed friars; a teſtimony of reſpect to her memory, which may, in ſome degree, take away the ſtain that hiſtory has Ann. Dom. 1237.
caſt upon her fame.[f]

THE tranquillity of the times afforded leiſure to Llewelyn, having with ſo much dignity ſettled his foreign concerns,

[d] Brady's Hiſt. Eng. p. 564. Rymer's Fædera, p. 368.

[e] Rymer's Fædera, p. 369.

[f] Welſh Chron. p. 293. See note in Hiſt. of Gwedir family, p. 23.

to

to give ſome attention to the order and interior government of his own kingdom. He convened all the chieftains of South Wales and Powis, to meet him at Stratflur; where they all renewed their oaths of allegiance, and likewiſe did homage to David, his ſon by the princeſs of England, in preference to his elder brother Gryffydh.[g] King Henry regarded with an eye of jealouſy this homage that was paid to the young prince, and ſent him a ſummons to repair, under a ſafe conduct, to Worceſter. About the ſame time, Ann. Dom. 1237. the peace was continued for a year longer on the ſame principles of mutual juſtice.[h]

LLEWELYN's glory, which has appeared with ſo bright a luſtre, reſembles the laſt effort of the vital ſpirit, which acquiring force in the moment of its extinction, and exerting a tranſient vigour, is exhauſted on a ſudden, and ſinks into diſſolution. Worn out with cares and inceſſant action, Llewelyn was now grown old, infirm, and paralytic. In this melancholy cloſe, haſtened no doubt by his late exertions, he ſeems to have loſt the vigour of his mind; giving up, in a moment of weakneſs, the great object for which, during a long reign, he had contended with ſo much valour and ſucceſs. The deſire of repoſe, with the eager wiſh of eſtabliſhing his favourite ſon David in the ſucceſſion, by thus inſuring the protection of the Engliſh king, were

[g] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

[h] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 372, 373.

perhaps

perhaps, the motives which influenced his conduct. Whatever these were, he gave notice to Henry, that being in years, and desirous of peace, he was willing to put himself under his protection, and to hold his dominions in future as a fief of the English crown; offering at the same time, that whenever the necessities of England should call for assistance, he would be ready to furnish troops, and to give other aids, agreeably to the duties of a vassal.

The bishops of Hereford and Chester on the part of Henry were employed in the negociation of this important concern.[i] So little of public virtue remained in the country, that many of the Welsh nobility were desirous of an union with England, although the independency of their nation sunk in the scale. Some nobler spirits rejected the idea with disdain, not inclined to gratify their sovereign's inclination, nor to indulge his infirmities, at the expence Ann. Dom. 1237.
of the freedom of their country.[k]

The archdeacon of St. Asaph was sent by Llewelyn into England. When he came to court, it appeared that he was not possessed of instructions or power sufficient to bring so important a business to a conclusion.

[i] Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 567.

[k] Math. Paris, p. 368, 369. Math. Westm. p. 110.

Henry, on this, sent letters to the lords of the marches, highly complaining of the homage that Llewelyn had caused his son David to receive; and commanding their attendance in Oxford, the truce with Wales being nearly expired. The king likewise sent a letter to the Welsh prince, expressive of resentment for his late conduct in regard to his son, and acquainting him, that if he was desirous of a lasting peace, he should send deputies to meet the council at Oxford; prohibiting him, moreover, under the penalty of forfeiture, from suffering his son to receive any more homage, until he had first performed that necessary duty to him, as his sovereign. So highly alarmed was Henry upon this point, that he wrote to the young prince his nephew, not to presume to receive any more homage until he had paid that duty to himself. The negociation for peace extended no farther than to a continuation of the Ann. Dom. 1238. truce for another year, which was afterwards ratified by Llewelyn.[1]

In the fulness of his father's favour, or taking advantage of his infirmities, David seised a great part of the territories belonging to his brother Gryffydh; leaving him only in possession of the cantrev of Lheyn in Caernarvonshire. This act of rapacity raised dissentions in the country, as Gryffydh possessed many qualities, which, among a people like the Welsh, were held in high estimation, being brave in

[1] Rymer's Fædera, vol. I. p. 379, 380.

war,

war, tall and comely in his perſon; and, as the eldeſt ſon of Llewelyn, heir apparent to the crown.[m]

To allay the ferment occaſioned by ſuch a diviſion of intereſts, the biſhop of Bangor propoſed a conference between the two princes. And though Gryffydh came to the meeting in company with that prelate, and under the ſanction of his character, he was ſeiſed on the road by his brother David; who confined him in the caſtle of Criccaeth, a fortreſs ſituated on the verge of the ſea in Caernarvonſhire.[n]

The treatment of this popular prince excited the greateſt commotion. The adherents of his perſon and family roſe up in arms, reſenting the many injuries done by David to his brother, their rightful ſovereign, and whoſe ſpirit, manners and intereſts were congenial with thoſe of his country. Another party eſpouſing the cauſe of David, a civil war was the immediate conſequence; in which, native ferocity mingling in the conteſt and heightening its fury, North Wales, for ſome time, was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.[o]

In this ſtate of affairs died Llewelyn ap Jorwerth, after a reign of fifty-ſix years; and was buried in the abbey of Conway.

[m] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

[n] Welſh Chron. p. 298. Math. Paris, p. 470.

[o] Math. Weſtm. p. 118. Polidore Vergil, p. 305. Holinſhead, p. 226.

Conway. He left two children by his firſt wife; Gryffydh, and Glwadys married to Sir Ralph Mortimer;[p] by his
Ann. Dom. ſecond wife, the princeſs of England, he had David, who
1240. ſucceeded to his father's dominions.[q]

In taking a ſurvey of the hiſtory of this period, ſo full of the viciſſitudes of fortune, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth comes forward a diſtinguiſhed perſon on the ſtage. Poſſeſſed of many qualities which form the warrior and the great prince, we may alſo diſcern through the glimmering of the times, the ſmaller traits of his character; ſome of thoſe finer ſprings which conſtitute in private life all that is juſt, tender, and amiable. But in characters the moſt eminent for their virtues and their talents, we ſhall ſtill meet with ſome ſhades of human infirmity. The defects of Llewelyn, may, however, be conſidered as the vices of the times he lived in, more juſtly than his own. A few acts of ferocity, with too frequent a violation of treaties, and at times a want of firmneſs in his conduct, may in ſome degree injure his fame and ſhade his virtues, but cannot deprive him of the honour conferred upon him by the gratitude of his country, for a long life employed in its defence. His talents and virtues, with the fortunate direction of both, have given this prince the illuſtrious title of Llewelyn the Great.

[p] Memoir of Gwedir family, p. 24, reſpecting Gryffydh.

[q] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27, in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd of Caerwys, Flintſhire.

SEVERAL

Ann. Dom. 1240.

SEVERAL causes conspired to promote the succession of David to the throne in preference to Gryffydh his elder brother. The partiality of Llewelyn to this favourite son had secured the allegiance of the Welsh nobility; the English king, as the uncle of David, would naturally support his cause, rather than that of his brother, a prince of a brave and active disposition, and popular in the country; but what gave the decisive turn in his favour was, that Gryffydh, the rival of his crown, was a prisoner at his mercy, closely confined in a solitary fortress.

WITHIN a month after his accession, David, attended by all the barons in Wales, came to Gloucester; where having done homage to the king, a peace was concluded on the following conditions: That David should surrender his right to the principality of North Wales, as well as to such lands as had been claimed by several of Henry's vassals, excepting those of Montalto or Mould; which he was at present to retain agreeably to what had been settled between him and the seneschal of Chester. In order to adjust all matters in dispute that in future might arise, arbitrators on both sides were to be appointed, over whom the Pope's legate, as long as he resided in England, was to preside; and who was likewise to have the power of punishing by ecclesiastical censures, any infraction of the peace: Before David, or any of his vassals, could be liable to such censures, they had a right to justify themselves before the legate in any secure

place

place upon the Borders; where they were bound to appear whenever they were cited, or be deemed contumacious if they neglected the ſummons, unleſs they ſhewed a ſufficient reaſon for the neglect: If the legatine function ſhould ceaſe, then the ſame power of coercion by eccleſiaſtical cenſure, ſhould be veſted in the archbiſhops of Canterbury ſucceſſively.

The peace was concluded on theſe terms, and a general remiſſion alſo took place of offences which either party at any time had committed.[p]

Soon after, David received a ſummons to appear before the king in London, attended with the Welſh commiſſioners, in order to proceed before the legate in the buſineſs of arbitration.[q] The Welſh prince, in no haſte to have the arbitration proceed, or to name the referees, ſlighted the ſummons. He then received another order from Henry, to appear himſelf at Shrewſbury,* or to ſend his deputies.[r] To this ſummons he thought proper to pay obedience, and he ſent commiſſioners accordingly to that place, where
Ann. Dom. 1241. new arbitrators were appointed, and a certain time fixed, when their deciſion was to take place.[s]

[p] Rymer, p. 389, 390. Brady, vol. I. p. 575.

[q] Rymer, vol. I. p. 391. [r] Brady, vol. I. p. 578, ſays Worceſter.

[s] Rymer, p. 392. Brady, vol, I. p. 579.

The

The submission of David was only to gain time. For it seems as if he had conceived the design of shaking off his dependence on the crown of England, as he had formed an alliance with the brothers of Gryffydh ap Madoc lord of the lower Powis, seducing those chiefs from their allegiance, as well as others of the Welsh tenants belonging to the English crown. He then laid waste, with fire and sword, the estates of Sir Ralph Mortimer, and others of Henry's feudatories; he retained in his own hands the estates of Hugh Vaughan and his nephews, contrary to the award of a late arbitration; and he likewise seised a vessel, on its voyage to Chester, loaded with wheat and other provisions. Upon these outrages, Henry sent the prince of Wales a peremptory letter, enumerating the grievances, and enjoining him to persuade the revolted chieftains to return to their duty, and that he should make restitution for all the injuries, which the king's subjects had received during the late infringement of the peace.[t]

In the mean time, the bishop of Bangor deeply interested himself in the safety of Gryffydh, the elder brother of David. He was also assisted in his generous design by Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had married Glwadys the sister of the captive prince.[u] With much earnest solicitation they requested that he might be released

[t] Rymer, p. 395.

[u] Brit. Anp. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27.

out

out of priſon; but all in vain; David did not dare to let looſe among his people, a ſpirit like his brother's, popular and brave, and full of reſentment for former injuries. The biſhop then excommunicated David, and withdrew into England. He likewiſe ſent his complaints to Rome, and had intereſt ſufficient with the Pope to get the ſentence confirmed, and to lay the prince's dominions under an interdict.[x]

The party was now increaſed which had been formed in favour of Gryffydh, who was become ſtill more dear to the people, his ſituation having rendered him an object of their pity. His wife Sina, a woman of ſpirit and addreſs, confederate with the biſhop of Bangor, and with ſome of the moſt powerful of the Welſh nobility, entered into a negociation with Henry, in hopes of intereſting that prince in the cauſe of her unfortunate huſband.[y] The negociation was ſupported with ſuch powerful perſuaſions, that Henry, inclining to their intereſt, ſent an order to David to releaſe his brother out of captivity. This mandate the Welſh prince peremptorily refuſed to obey, alledging in his excuſe, that if Gryffydh was ſet at liberty, ſuch was his ſpirit, and the ſtrength of his party, that he would raiſe the greateſt commotions throughout Wales.[z] On this refuſal, the king, having been previouſly encouraged to come into Wales under aſſurances of aid by Gryffydh ap Madoc the lord of Powis,

[x] Math. Paris, p. 506. Welſh Chron. p. 300. Brady, vol. I. p. 578.
[y] Math. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578. [z] Ibid.

ordered

ordered his military tenants to meet him at Gloucefter; and from thence he proceeded with a large army to Shrewfbury.[a] During his ftay at this place, which was fifteen days, many Englifh and Welfh lords, his vaffals, gave him the meeting; all of them friendly to Gryffydh, and who came to fupport Sina's negociation.[b]

THAT lady ftipulated with the king for the enlargement of her hufband on the following terms; that Gryffydh fhould give the king fix hundred marks, on condition that he caufed the faid Gryffydh and Owen his fon to be delivered from prifon; and that they fhould ftand to the judgment of the king's court, whether by law they ought to have been imprifoned. That the faid Gryffydh and his heirs fhould ftand to the judgment of the king's court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of Llewelyn his father, which of right, he thought, ought to appertain unto him: the faid Sina undertaking for Gryffydh and his heirs, that they fhould pay yearly for thofe lands, the fum of three hundred marks; whereof the one third part fhould be paid in money, the fecond in cattle, and the third in horfes, by the eftimation of indifferent men; and that the

[a] Math. Paris, p. 506.

[b] Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Mont Alto fteward of Chefter, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredydh ap Rotpert lord of Cydewen, Gryffydh ap Madoc lord of Bromfield, Howel and Meredydh the fons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh, and Gryffydh the fon of Gwenwynwyn lord of Powis. Welfh Chron. p. 301.

 fame

ſame ſhould be paid at Michaelmas and Eaſter, by even portions, into the hands of the ſheriff of the county of Salop. Sina farther undertook for Gryffydh and his heirs, that they ſhould obſerve the peace with David, and ſuffer him quietly to enjoy ſuch portions of his father's inheritance as to him ſhould be found to be due. She alſo undertook for her huſband and his heirs, that in caſe any Welſhman ſhould hereafter rebel againſt the king, they at their own charges ſhould compel the offender to make ſatisfaction.[c] For the performance of theſe conditions ſhe engaged to deliver to the king, David and Roderic her ſons as pledges; with proviſo, that if either Gryffydh or Owen, ſhould happen to die before his delivery out of priſon, it ſhould be lawful for Sina to have one of her ſons releaſed, the other remaining with the king as an hoſtage. She likewiſe ſwore upon the holy Evangeliſts, that Gryffydh, and his heirs, ſhould accompliſh and perform all theſe premiſes; and ſhe farther undertook, that Gryffydh on his delivery out of priſon, ſhould take the ſame oath. Sina, in the name of her huſband, ſubmitted herſelf, as to the obſervance of the premiſes, to the juriſdiction of the reverend fathers the biſhops of Hereford and Litchfield; ſo that the ſaid biſhops, or either of them, at the king's requeſt, ſhould compel the ſaid Gryffydh and his heirs to obſerve them, on pain of excommunication on their perſons, and interdiction on their lands; and laſtly, that her huſband ſhould

[c] Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

deliver

deliver this inftrument in writing to the king in the form aforefaid. To this compact both parties fet their feals; Gryffydh and Sina to that part which remained with the king, and the king to that part which remained with Sina. In ratification of this treaty, the lords before-mentioned, fwore fealty to the king, and pledged themfelves for the punctual performance of its feveral articles.[d]

A DEEP cloud at this time hung over Wales, and feemed to threaten with immediate ruin the declining fortunes of this people. The king of England advancing towards Chefter, at the head of a large army, had entered the frontiers of their country; the approaches to it having been rendered eafy by a drought, which, continuing this fummer four months, had dried up all the marfhes; many of the Welfh nobility were in confederacy againft David, in favour of his rival and the object of his cruelty; but the circumftance above all others moft likely to excite his terror, was the cenfure of the church, which hanging over his head, like a fword fufpended in the air, left him only a precarious poffeffion of his throne.[e] David faw the ftorm as it gathered round him, and his refolution failing, he fent an offer to Henry to releafe his brother out of prifon, provided he himfelf might be taken into favour, under all the fecurity that hoftages, and other ties could give for his

[d] Matt. Paris, p. 550. Welfh Chron. p. 303. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.
[e] Math Paris, p. 506.

future

future fidelity.[f] Henry agreed to grant his nephew pardon and peace upon the terms he himſelf had offered, to which he added the following conditions: That David ſhould deliver up his brother Gryffydh and his ſon Owen to the king: That he ſhould ſtand to the judgment of the king's court, whether Gryffydh ought to be impriſoned; and alſo for the portion of his father's inheritance, which he claimed according to the cuſtom of Wales, and ſhould hold that land of the king in capite: That he ſhould deliver to Roger de Mont Alto ſteward of Cheſter, his lands of Mold, with all their appurtenances: That he ſhould reſtore to the barons all ſuch lands, lordſhips, and caſtles as had been taken from them ſince the commencement of the wars between king John and his father Llewelyn: That he ſhould defray all the charges of Henry in the laſt expedition: That he ſhould make ſatisfaction for all the injuries done by him, or his ſubjects, to the king or his people: That he ſhould reſtore unto him all the homages which king John had received, or ought to have received, eſpecially from the noblemen of Wales: That the lordſhips of Elleſmere and Englefield ſhould be conveyed to the king for ever: That he ſhould not receive any of the king's ſubjects within the dominions of Wales, that were outlawed or baniſhed: And lastly, under the penalty or forfeiture, and obligation of giving hoſtages, that he ſhould enter into the moſt ſolemn engagements that he would never recede from Henry's ſer-

[f] Math. Paris, p. 506.

vice,

vice, that he would obſerve all his commands, and ſtand to the law in his courts.[g]

This treaty was ſigned on the part of David, by the biſhops of St. Aſaph and Bangor, at Alnet on the river Elwey near St. Aſaph. As a pledge of his ſincerity, that he really intended to preſerve the peace according to the treaty, the Welſh prince conſented that the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Ely, Hereford, and Coventry, ſhould be arbitrators between him and the king, and that he himſelf ſhould be liable to their eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if, on his part, any of the articles were violated.[h] Ann. Dom. 1241.

Though the treaty was ſigned, David was not diveſted entirely of his fears. He ſent privately to Henry, deſiring, that being his nephew, he might continue to enjoy the principality of Wales in preference to Gryffydh, who was not related to the king. He likewiſe inſinuated, that by ſetting his brother at liberty, he let looſe a ſpirit that would raiſe diviſions in the country, and adminiſter occaſion for continual wars.[i] Theſe reaſons coincided but too well with the wiſhes and intereſted views of Henry. Having received Gryffydh from the hands of his brother, the king ſent him, with the hoſtages lately given, to London in the cuſtody

[g] Math. Paris, p. 551. Brady, vol. I. p. 580. Rymer, p. 396, 397, 398.

[h] Welſh Chron. p. 306. Brady, p. 580.

[i] Welſh Chron. p. 307. Math. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

of

of Sir John de Lerinton, with orders that that prince, and his eldeſt ſon Owen, ſhould be confined in the tower:[k] a conduct full of duplicity and meanneſs, and unworthy of a great monarch. The king likewiſe ordered a noble a day to be allowed him for his maintenance.[l]

In this ſituation Gryffydh was not entirely deſerted by his friends. His faithful adherent the biſhop of Bangor came up to court to intercede with the king for his liberty; but, humanity and juſtice not mingling in Henry's councils, he refuſed every ſolicitation made in his favour. After languiſhing two years in confinement, deſpairing of any other relief, this unfortunate prince attempted to make his eſcape, thinking any danger preferable to being ſhut up in a foreign priſon during his life, the victim of ſtate policy. With this deſign, one night, having deceived his keepers, he got out of the window, and with a line which he had made by faſtening together pieces of the tapeſtry of his chamber, the ſheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table, he attempted to let himſelf down from the tower; but being a very corpulent perſon, after he had deſcended but a little way, his weight broke the line, and he fell into the ditch with ſuch violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body; in which ſituation he was found in the morning.[m] His ſon Owen, and Sina his wife,

[k] Welſh Chron. p. 307. [l] Holinſhead, p. 228.
[m] Math. Paris, p. 545. Stowe's Chron. p. 186.

who

who had ſhared in his tedious captivity, were the witneſſes of this melancholy ſpectacle. This diſaſter, inſtead of raiſing Henry's pity, was a reaſon with that prince for treating his ſon with greater rigour.[n] The reader will feel ſome emotions of ſorrow at the fate of this brave prince, who, in obedience to the firſt law of nature, thus fell a victim to a perfidious brother, and the intereſted views of his enemies.

A FEW months after the treaty was ſigned David came to the Engliſh court, and having done homage to Henry, and given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his fidelity, even under the penalty of forfeiture if he ſhould ever rebel, he returned with a ſafe conduct into Wales.[o]

THE Welſh nation, at this diſhonourable period, was reduced to the loweſt ebb of fortune; their independency gone, their prince the acknowledged vaſſal of England, and in appearance every ſpark of public virtue extinguiſhed.

SOON after theſe events, the Engliſh king fortified the caſtle of Diſerth in Flintſhire. He likewiſe exerciſed the right he had lately acquired as the ſovereign over Wales, by giving to Gryffydh the ſon of Gwenwynwyn his in-

[n] Ibid.

[o] Math. Paris, p. 506.

heritance

heritance in Powis, and to the ſons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedh their territeries in Meirionydh.[p]

A NEW ſcene now opens to our view. The vail is drawn aſide which had of late concealed from the Welſh princes the deſigns of the Engliſh monarch. They had vainly thought, though reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage, they ſhould be able to retain the appearance of royalty, and ſome ſemblance of their ancient grandeur. They did not conſider, that having loſt the ſubſtance of power, its attendant ſhadow would ſoon diſappear. That the Welſh might no longer be deluded with even the ſemblance of freedom, Henry, in poſſeſſion already of the ſovereignty, upon the death of Gryffydh the real heir to the crown, gave to his eldeſt ſon Edward the title of prince of Wales.[q] At this intelligence David revolted from his allegiance, alive at laſt to a ſenſe of ſhame for the ignominious ſituation of his country.

IN hopes of ſecuring his ſubjects from the various oppreſſions of the Engliſh government, he ſolicited the Pope's protection, offering to hold his dominions under him as a fief of the holy ſee, and to pay likewiſe an annual tribute

p Welſh Chron. p. 308.

q Cambden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 695. Polidore Vergil, p. 311. Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29, 30. Welſh Chron. p. 309. See Appendix, No. 1. from Records in the Tower, Ann. 29 Henry III.

of

of five hundred marks;[r] concluding, that if he and his people must be the vassals of a foreign prince, it was his wisest course to yield obedience to a power that was superior to all the sovereigns in Europe. The Pope, acceding to the proposal, and having received a large sum of money from the Welsh prince, vested the abbots of Conway and Cymmer with full powers to sit as a court of inquiry, whether David was under the influence of terror or of force at the time he consented to do homage, and to be tied down to the late arbitrations. If an improper influence was found to have been the case, they were then to absolve him from the oaths and the other engagements he had taken. In the fulness of spiritual importance, the Welsh abbots summoned king Henry to appear before them at Caerwys,[s] to answer the complaints that David might alledge against them. This indignity was highly resented by the king, and all the barons of England.[t] But the negociation with Rome did not in the end produce any useful effect. Henry, acquainted with the venality of that court, and that he might not be baffled by so insignificant a prince as David, made larger offers; which, agreeably to the versatile and unprincipled conduct of Rome, turned the scale in favour of the English.[u] Ann. Dom. 1245.

[r] Math. Westmin. p. 139. Math. Paris, p. 552. Brady, p. 592.

[s] Brady, p. 592. Welsh Chron. p. 309, says at Creythyn.

[t] Math. Paris, p. 573, 617. J. Rossi, Antiq. Warwicensis, p. 162.

[u] Welsh Chron. p. 309. Rymer, vol. I. p. 425, 430.

Encouraged by the Pope's interference, and Henry's abſence in Scotland, David made an incurſion on the lands of the Engliſh lords in the marches; and by the king's command was oppoſed by the earl of Hereford, Thomas de Monmouth, and Roger de Mont Alto; in which enterpriſe, the Welſh had at firſt the advantage, but were at length repulſed with loſs.[x]

These incurſions, continuing to be carried on with terrible devaſtations, the king, on his return, ſent Hubert Fitz Mathew, with three hundred horſe to co-operate with the lords of the marches.[y] Before his arrival, the Welſh had routed the forces of the earl of Hereford and Ralph de Mortimer; the former lord having in ſome meaſure been the cauſe of the inſurrection, by detaining from David a certain diſtrict of land, the property of his wife.[z] Theſe diſaſters alarmed king Henry, and created great indignation among the Engliſh. But his finances were ſo much exhauſted, and his credit ſo low, that the parliament refuſed him the means of carrying on the war;[a] thinking, probably, that the Welſh were neither much to be blamed, nor, if allowed to remain unmoleſted, much to be feared.

[x] Math. Paris, p. 562. Polidore Vergil, p. 308, ſays, that in this enterpriſe David loſt the greater part of his army, and that he repaired to Scotland, to incite that prince to turn his arms againſt Henry.

[y] Math. Paris, p. 569. [z] Ibid.

[a] Brady, vol. I. p. 592.

Some

Some time after, a party of the Welsh was drawn into an ambush by the constable of Montgomery castle, and three hundred of them cut in pieces.[b] To revenge this loss, David fell with great fury on the estates of the English lords upon the Borders. This inroad was opposed by Hubert Fitz Mathew, at the head of the militia belonging to the marches. That general, breathing the spirit of revenge, and unacquainted with the country, soon led the English army into a difficult situation, in which they were suddenly attacked by the Welsh, who were posted on the heights adjacent, and from thence much annoyed their enemies by a shower of stones, arrows, and darts. In this rude encounter, Hubert Fitz Mathew was killed by a large stone rolled down from the mountains. The English, dispirited by the loss of their leader, retreated with precipitation out of the country. Taking advantage of the general consternation, the prince of Wales then laid siege to the castle of Mold, which he took by storm, and put all the soldiers he found in it to the sword; the owner, Roger de Mont Alto, escaped the danger, not being in the castle at the time it was taken.[c]

David was now summoned to appear, with all the barons of Wales, in the king's court at Westminster, to do homage, and to answer for the depredations which they had lately committed.[d] About twenty of the Welsh nobility made

[b] Math. Paris, p. 575. [c] Ibid. p. 576. [d] Ibid.

their appearance. Inſtead of obeying the ſummons, the prince appears to have amuſed the Engliſh court with a treaty; which having miſcarried, the moſt formidable preparations were made by Henry for the entire conqueſt of the country.[e]

The revolt now wore a moſt ſerious aſpect. The Engliſh parliament therefore, not only gave the neceſſary ſupplies, but thought proper that the king ſhould in perſon go into Wales, to give an early check to David's career, and to puniſh the rebellion of an inſolent vaſſal. It was on this occaſion, that an extraordinary aſſeſſment of forty ſhillings for every knight's fee took place, called the ſcutage of Gannock.[f] Summonſes were ſent to all the barons and others who held of the king by knights ſervice and ſerjeantry to be ready to march into Wales, or to ſend thither their ſervices.[g] Orders were likewiſe ſent to Henry's juſticiary in Ireland, that a diverſion ſhould be made from thence on the iſland of Angleſey;[h] and for that purpoſe he was to provide the choiceſt ſoldiers; he was alſo to furniſh the neceſſary proviſions for the army employed in the Welſh expedition.[i]

It was about the middle of Auguſt that Henry entered the confines of Wales. By that time, the Iriſh had made a

[e] Rymer, p. 427—431. [f] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 82, from Rotul. Pip. 30 Hen. III. Oxon. [g] Rymer, p. 433. Brady, vol. I. p. 591.
[h] Welſh Chron. p. 310. [i] Rymer, p. 431.

deſcent

descent on Anglesey, and had dreadfully ravaged that island;[k] but not being properly supported by the English king, who had been too slow in his movements, they were assailed by the inhabitants, when loaded with plunder, and were driven back to their ships.[l] Ann. Dom. 1245.

The English army was too powerful for David to resist in the open field; he therefore retired into the mountains of Snowdun, leaving Henry's march open and unmolested, till he had advanced to the arm of the sea, opposite to Conway. Not daring to pass that river, and enter into the mountainous recesses of the country, the enemy unseen and in flying parties hovering around him, Henry halted his troops; though determined that the expedition should not be rendered entirely fruitless.

On the point of a promontory that projects into the sea, were the ruins of an ancient fortification, once a Roman station, and which had been afterwards a fortress belonging to the Welsh, called Diganwy, and an occasional residence of their earlier princes. Thinking this a proper situation, the king began to erect a castle, the garrison of which might be able to intercept the Welsh whenever they made incursions into England.[m]

k Math. Paris, p. 599. l Welsh Chron. p. 310.

m Math. Paris, p. 597. Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, p. 2443.

It

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the Welſh remained unconcerned ſpectators of a tranſaction of ſo hoſtile a nature; which if ſuffered to be completed, would prove the deadly dart that would remain and rankle in the boſom of their country.

During the ten weeks that Henry employed in building this fortreſs, his army, which lay encamped in the open field, was expoſed to many inconveniences. The weather growing exceedingly cold towards the cloſe of the year, the ſoldiers ſuffered much by being thinly clad, having no other covering than a garment made of linen; the army likewiſe was at times greatly ſtreightened for proviſions, receiving only a precarious ſupply from Cheſter and Ireland; they were alſo much harraſſed, and their numbers reduced, by the inceſſant attempts which the Welſh made in the night, to cut off their ſtraggling parties,[a] and to break up their camp.

During this time, a veſſel loaded with proviſions arrived out of Ireland, and, by the negligence of the mariners, was run aground at the ebb of the tide, on the ſhore next to Snowdun. This being ſeen by the Welſh, they ran to take poſſeſſion of the prize, by this time laid dry on the ſtrand;

[a] In one of theſe conflicts, the Engliſh having the advantage, they brought in triumph to their camp, the heads of nearly one hundred Welſhmen. See Math. Paris, p. 598.

but

but the veſſel was gallantly defended by Sir Walter Biſſet, till a reinforcement came acroſs the river to his relief; who, driving away the aſſailants, purſued them ſix miles, with great ſlaughter, into the country. The Engliſh party, on their return, fluſhed with ſucceſs, pillaged of its books and furniture the abbey of Conway, a religious houſe of the Ciſtercian order: they then ſet fire to all the offices. On ſeeing the flames, the Welſh, with a rage that bordered upon frenzy, ran down from the mountains to preſerve that venerable pile, the object of their piety, and which had lately become the *mauſolæum* of their princes. Finding the Engliſh overloaded with ſpoils, they ſlew a great number, and wounded others; and many ſoldiers, to avoid their fury, plunged into the Conway, and periſhed in the water: beſides thoſe who were drowned, ſeveral gentlemen of rank, and about one hundred common perſons, fell by the ſword. The ſoldiers taken alive were lodged in confinement; but the Welſh, informed that their enemies had lately put to death ſome lords of their nation, ordered all the priſoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and, with a barbarous rage, tearing their dead bodies in pieces, they threw them into the Conway water. Some colour of juſtice was indeed given to this act of ferocity, many of them being Welſhmen, who, under the command of the lords of Powis,[o] had joined the enemies of their country.[p] The veſſel before-

[o] Welſh Chron. p. 311.

[p] Math. Paris, p. 597, 598, 599. This account is given by an Engliſh lord ſerving at that time in Henry's army.

mentioned,

mentioned, ſtill aground, was again violently aſſaulted, and as bravely defended, till midnight, by Sir Walter Biſſet; when, on the flowing of the tide, the Welſh were obliged to retire. During the night, this party was releaſed from their poſt, and leaving the ſhip, eſcaped to the Engliſh camp. In the morning, it being then low water, the Welſh returned to the veſſel, and finding her deſerted, carried away almoſt all the wine, and the reſt of the cargoe. Having ſo far ſecured this valuable prize, a part of which conſiſted of fifty-three tons of wine, they ſet fire to the ſhip, and made good their retreat. Seven tons only were ſaved by the Engliſh, who drew them out of a part of the veſſel which had not been conſumed.

Having at length finiſhed the important fortreſs of Gannock, in the face of the Welſh, and againſt all the efforts they had uſed to prevent it, Henry left there a numerous garriſon; and unable to continue any longer for want of proviſions, and the winter being near, he returned at the end of October, with the remainder of his army, into England.[q]

Ann. Dom. 1245.

After the king's departure, many cauſes conſpired to render the ſituation of the Welſh deplorable. No party could move towards the Cheſhire frontier, but they were liable to be cut off by the garriſon of the new caſtle of Gannock. Angleſey, the granary of Wales, had been ſo entirely laid

[q] Math. Paris, 597, 598, 599.

waſte

waſte by the Iriſh, that no advantage could be derived from thence; nor could they be ſupplied with proviſions from other parts, as orders had been given by the Engliſh king in the marches and in Ireland, that, on pain of death, no merchandize whatever, or victuals ſhould be carried into Wales.[r] He likewiſe ordered all the ſalt works to be deſtroyed in the country.[s] What heightened ſtill more the public diſtreſs, the territories of the Welſh prince were now reduced to Mierionydh and the preſent Caernarvonſhire, and to the barren parts of the adjoining counties; and, beſides the uſual inhabitants, it is probable, thoſe mountains were now crowded with people who had fled out of the valleys for protection. In ſuch a ſituation, the Welſh ſeemed to have had no alternative but famine, or ſubmiſſion to Henry's authority.[t]

IN this ſeaſon of common calamity, the rage of contending parties was for a time ſuſpended; and the Welſh nobility, no longer retaining animoſity againſt each other, gave their prince the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of perpetual allegiance.[u] But their offers of aid, or vows of fidelity, had no power of affording relief to David; the miſeries of his country, and the proſpect that was opening on it had broken his ſpirit; and, a few months after, ſinking under the weight of ſorrow, lamented by his ſubjects, and riſing in their eſteem, Ann. Dom. 1246.

[r] Rymer, vol. I. p. 440. Math. Paris, p. 599. [s] Math. Paris, p. 599.
[t] Ibid. p. 600. [u] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 268.

he died[x] at Aber, a palace in which he ufually refided in Caernarvonfhire. This prince left no iffue, and was buried in the abbey of Conway.[y]

We have now feen the Welfh nation fubject to the moft diftant extremes of fortune. Their annals, in rapid fucceffion, are marked with ftriking viciffitudes. Influenced by fudden, and often by hidden fprings, we have feen them, by exerting their united ftrength, rifing up to the height of profperity; and then, from caufes equally capricious, falling, in a moment, into difunion and vaffalage.

[x] Math. Paris, p 608, 610. [y] Wynne's Hift. Wales, p. 268.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN AND LLEWELYN THE SONS OF GRYFFYDH AP LLEWELYN, TO THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN THE LAST PRINCE OF NORTH WALES.

ON the death of the late prince, the Welsh nobility chose Owen and Llewelyn joint sovereigns of North Wales. These young princes were the sons of Gryffydh, who some years before had been killed by attempting to escape out of the tower of London.[a] Ann. Dom. 1246.

OWEN had shared in the captivity of his father, but was afterwards taken into Henry's favour, and highly caressed in the English court. Receiving intelligence of the late events, he withdrew suddenly out of England, and fortunately effected his escape into Wales.[b] The young

[a] Welsh Chron. p. 314. [b] Math. Paris, p. 608.

prince Llewelyn, before his acceſſion to the throne, had reſided at Maeſmynan near Caerwys in Flintſhire; and poſſeſſed, as the patrimony which he had received from his father, the cantrevs of Englefield, Dyffryn-Clwyd, Rhos, and Rhovoniac; all of which he had held in oppoſition to his uncle David, and the Engliſh monarch.[c]

Oppressed by the hated laws of England, the Welſh, at this time, had neither opportunity nor ſpirit, to carry on commerce, nor to cultivate their lands, and in conſequence were periſhing by famine: they were likewiſe deprived of the uſual paſturage for their cattle: and, to recite the words of an old writer, "the harp of the churchmen is changed into ſorrow and lamentations: their high and ancient renown is faded."[d]

In this ſituation, the two princes thought proper to conclude a peace with the Engliſh king, on the ſevere conditions of yielding up for ever the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyvonioc, Dyffryn-Clwyd, and Englefield, being all the country from the frontier of Cheſhire to the water of Conway.[e] They were likewiſe obliged to ſerve in Wales, or in the

[c] Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 28.

[d] The biſhop of St. Davids, is ſaid, at this time, to have died of grief, and the biſhop of Llandaf to have been ſtricken blind: the biſhops of Bangor and St. Aſaph, likewiſe, on their biſhopricks being entirely ruined, were under the neceſſity of ſupplicating alms, as a means of ſubſiſtence. Vide Math. Paris, p. 642.

[e] Cynwy or Chief Water.

marches,

marches, with one thousand foot and twenty-four horse, armed and well appointed at their own expence, whenever they were called upon; but with five hundred infantry only when the service should require that duty to be performed in any other place: The homage and services of all the barons in Wales were to remain with the kings of England for ever: If there should be any infringement of the peace on the part of the Welsh princes, an entire forfeiture of their territories was to be the consequence: For these concessions, after the princes had done homage, Henry granted them a full pardon, and the enjoyment of the residue of North Wales, to be held under the crown of England for ever.[f] Ann. Dom. 1247.

At this time, the country from Chester to the river Conway, which had been given by Henry as an appennage to prince Edward, was let out to farm to Alan de Zouch an English baron, for eleven hundred marks.[g] He superseded John de Grey, who was to have held it for the lesser sum of five hundred.[h] The Welsh likewise early tasted another bitter fruit of their subjection; a talliage having been laid on all that territory which had lately been ceded in Wales, to defray the expence of Henry's intended expedition into the Holy Land. Ann. Dom. 1251.

For some years the Welsh nation, dispirited and inactive, had lost with their freedom every trace of their national cha-

[f] Rymer, p. 443. [g] Brady, vol. I. p. 605. [h] Math. Paris, p. 705. Inter. Communia. Trin. Term. 36 Hen. III.

racter, till the demon of discord, reviving their spirit and genius, called it once more into action.

Owen, the eldest of the reigning princes, not enduring a partner in the throne, drew in David his younger brother to engage with him in hostilities against Llewelyn. The two brothers, in consequence of this, took the field with a considerable force, and fighting with Llewelyn, their army, after a long and severe engagement was routed, and they, themselves, taken prisoners and lodged in confinement, leaving to that prince the sole possession of what remained of this mutilated kingdom.[k]

The eyes of the Welsh nobility were at length opened, a series of injuries had awakened them into a sense of their lost condition. The nobility of North and South Wales resorted to Llewelyn, and complained of the grievances they daily endured from prince Edward, and from the lords of the marches; that their estates were taken from them by force, without any colour of justice; and that they were treated with severity whenever they committed the smallest offence; but that they themselves could obtain no redress for any injury done them by the English.[l] In the most solemn manner, and with an affected, though manly spirit, they declared, that they would rather die in the field in defence

[k] Welsh Chron. p. 319. Annales Burton, p. 386.
[l] Welsh Chron. p. 320.

of

of their natural rights, than be ſubject any longer to ſo cruel and oppreſſive an enemy. Virtue, neceſſity, and deſpair influenced Llewelyn to ſecond their ardour. They all determined to reſcue their country from its vile dependence on England, or bravely to periſh amidſt the ruins of its freedom.[m] Ann. Dom. 1255.

When men meet to deliberate, with a reſolution to revolt, a deciſive conduct ſhould then take place of feeble and temporiſing meaſures. The conduct of Llewelyn, on this occaſion, was equally rapid and deciſive. He recovered by a ſudden movement Meirionydh, and the inland country of North Wales lately ceded to Henry; and alſo ſuch lands in Caerdigan as were in the poſſeſſion of prince Edward; and the diſtrict of Gwerthryneon the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.

The ſummer following he made an incurſion into Powis, and ſubdued a great part of the territory that belonged to Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, to revenge the baſeneſs of his conduct in taking part with the Engliſh king. With a ſpirit, that marked a liberal and penetrating mind, the prince of Wales divided among the chiefs, his aſſociates in the war, the lands he had conquered. It was certainly right in Llewelyn, having put his life and his crown to hazard, to ſecure the attachment of intereſted chieftains by ſuch an act of princely munificence.

[m] Math. Paris, p. 806.

Hearing of the revolt, Henry ſent a large army by ſea to the aſſiſtance of his vaſſals in South Wales, which, having laid ſiege to the caſtle of Dinevawr, was defeated, with the loſs of two thouſand men, by the forces of Llewelyn. After this ſucceſs, the Welſh army burned and laid waſte the country of Dyvet, deſtroying the caſtles of Abercorran, Llanſtephan, Maenclochoc, and Arberth; and then returned with the ſpoils they had taken into North Wales.[m]

Ann. Dom. 1256.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that Edward, a prince of the age of ſeventeen, full of fire and ambition, would ſee without emotion the progreſs of Llewelyn, and the many valuable territories, which that prince, his rival in glory, had lately torn from him. His father being unwilling, or what is more likely, unable to aſſiſt him with money, the young prince applied to his uncle the earl of Cornwall, who lent him four thouſand marks to carry on the war. But the heavy rains which fell during the winter, raiſed the rivers ſo much, as to overflow the marſhes, whence the progreſs he made againſt the enemy was very inconſiderable, and bore no proportion to his ſpirit, or his thirſt after fame.[n]

Ann. Dom. 1257.

The Welſh, expoſed to the rapacity of a Farmer General, and their country often ſold to the beſt bidder, experienced about this time another ſevere cauſe of complaint. Sir

[m] Welſh Chron. p. 320, 321.

[n] Math. Paris, p. 805.

Geoffry

Geoffry de Langley[o] had been appointed to ſuperintend that diſtrict which lies between Cheſter and the Water of Conway, and to collect, in behalf of prince Edward, the revenue lately impoſed upon the inhabitants of that country.[p] The rigour with which he exacted this talliage raiſed among the Welſh the greateſt uneaſineſs. Againſt every principle of juſtice and prudence prince Edward alſo attempted to introduce, on a ſudden, the Engliſh laws into this part of Wales;[q] and in order to give them proper force and effect, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh courts of juſtice in every hundred, and in every county.[r] The deſign ſpread a general alarm. Horror, and the keeneſt indignation were excited, when the Welſh ſaw an odious and foreign juriſdiction riſing into a ſyſtem on the ruins of their ancient laws; objects which they loved with a tender affection, and revered with a pious enthuſiaſm, as the types of their former glory, and the only remaining veſtige of the Britiſh empire. Private injury and partial oppreſſion had hitherto met with partial reſentment. But there is a certain degree of oppreſſion that will urge into reſiſtance even men who are cowards by nature, and loſt to every ſentiment of virtue. What efforts then might not be expected from the Welſh; a people, brave and iraſcible, who were bred on their mountains the indigenous children of freedom?

[o] Brady, p. 721, 810. It is probable that he ſucceeded Alan de Zouch, who had brought into England much treaſure in carts out of Wales.

[p] Math. Paris, p. 805. Brady, p. 620. [q] Brady, p. 605.

[r] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 110, from Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 321.

Ann. Dom. 1257.

The Welsh joined Llewelyn in such numbers, that he soon raised a very formidable force, equipt in all points, and armed agreeably to the custom of the country. For the greater ease of procuring provisions, he divided it into two bodies, each of which consisted of thirty thousand men, attended likewise by a squadron of five hundred horse, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour. With this formidable force, the Welsh prince laid waste the frontier on each side of the river Dee to the gates of Chester.[s] The prince of England, unable to resist the impetuosity of this multitude, retreated to his uncle the king of the Romans. By his means having augmented his forces, he returned into Wales, but was still too weak to encounter, or even to give any check to the progress of the Welsh army, though he had lately been joined by Gryffydh ap Madoc, the lord of the lower Powis, who resided in the castle of Dinas-Bran near Llangollen.[t]

The natives of South Wales animated with the same generous spirit, had joined in the common cause.[u] In support of this union, Llewelyn made an inroad into that country, and making himself master of two castles, and of several districts belonging to the enemy, he returned towards North Wales; but was met in the course of his march by the prince of England, who, attempting to oppose his pro-

[s] Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 50. Math. Paris, p. 805, 806, 810.
[t] Welsh Chron, p. 321. [u] Holinshead, p. 255.

gress,

grefs, received a confiderable check, and was obliged to retire before the Welfh army. After this, Llewelyn laid wafte the territories of Gryffydh ap Madoc, in refentment of his late conduct.

The vanity of Edward was wounded at the difgrace his arms had lately received, an affront which he never forgave; and if his fpirit and ambition prompted him to the conqueft of the country, he was equally fpurred on by pride and refentment againft Llewelyn, his rival for fame. In the fituation of the two princes it was not likely the difpute would be of long continuance, it muft foon ceafe by the ruin or death of one of the competitors.

At this time, the king of the Romans, defirous of mediating between the two hoftile powers, wrote to the prince of Wales, mildly requefting, that he would defift from making any farther depredations. But Llewelyn, taking advantage of the rainy feafon, and knowing the marfhes were inacceffible,[x] inftead of retiring from the field, laid fiege to the caftle of Gannock, on the attainment of which he muft know the fate of his country would in a great meafure depend. Alarmed for the fafety of this important fortrefs, Henry, who had hitherto been an unconcerned fpectator, refolved to go into Wales, and in

[x] Math. Paris, p. 810. Welfh Chron. p. 321.

 perfon

person to conduct a war which had proved so unprosperous under the conduct of his son. With this view, he sent orders to his vassals in Ireland to make a descent upon Anglesey, that by despoiling that island, he might dry up the source from whence the Welsh had usually received a great part of their sustenance. He summoned all his military tenants in the north, and the middle of England, to meet him on the eleventh of August at Chester; he likewise appointed those of the west to assemble at Bristol, with orders to invade South Wales, under the command of the earl of Gloucester; in hopes, that by entering the country in several places, and in different divisions, he might distract the attention of the enemy, and divide their force.[y] On the advance of the English, Llewelyn raised the siege, and retired across the river into Snowdun; having taken the precaution to break down the bridges, obstruct the roads, and remove the women, children, and cattle, with all the provisions, out of the adjacent country.[z] Henry did not dare to penetrate that formidable barrier; though he was enabled to remain in his post till Michaelmas, by means of a fleet belonging to the Cinque Ports which supplied his army with provisions. His measures had been wisely planned, and this campaign might have given the fatal blow to the independence of Wales, if Henry's orders had been obeyed with fidelity. The English army in South Wales,

[y] Welsh Chron. p. 322. Math. Paris, p. 817. Rymer, p. 636.

[z] Math. Paris, p. 817.

instead

inſtead of making a diverſion in his favour, had remained inactive; not without ſuſpicion of treaſon falling on the earl of Glouceſter the general.[a] Llewelyn no ſooner heard of the intention of the Iriſh of making a deſcent on Angleſey, than he ſent out ſome veſſels to intercept them; by which their fleet was defeated, and forced back into Ireland.[b] In this ſituation, the winter coming on, and having ſuffered much by a furious attack which the Welſh had made from the mountains, Henry once more left the field to Llewelyn; and inſtead of puniſhing a revolting vaſſal, he himſelf was obliged to make a precipitate, and inglorious retreat to Cheſter, with the ſhattered remains of his army.[c]

If diſgrace and diſcomfiture attended Henry's retreat into England, Llewelyn likewiſe had his ſhare of diſappointment. He had been flattered with the expectation of receiving ſupport out of Scotland; a party in that kingdom having engaged by treaty, that as ſoon as the Welſh were in the field, they would make a diverſion in their favour, by invading the northern borders of England.[d] This deſign being defeated, by a ſudden and deciſive meaſure of Henry's,[e] the prince of Wales found himſelf left, unſupported by any confederate, to ſuſtain the unequal preſſure of the war.

[a] Chron. Dunſtaple, p. 325, 326.
[b] Math. Paris, p. 815. Welſh Chron. p. 322.
[c] Polidore Vergil, p. 313. [d] Brady, vol. I. p. 623.
[e] Ibid.

This consideration, together with the miserable state of his dominions, and the injury that had arisen to his subjects from their having been of late deprived of commerce, inclined Llewelyn to put an end to their calamities by a peace, which should be grounded on reasonable concessions. With the consent of his chieftains, he made proposals, if a peace was concluded, and the Welsh were restored to their ancient laws, to give a sum of money to Henry, and to acknowledge his sovereignty; but utterly rejected the idea of allegiance, as a duty he owed to prince Edward. The English king did not accede to the proposal.[f] It was not likely that the young prince Edward would be inclined to relinquish such valuable territories, and the royal dignity with which he had been lately invested. The peculiar reluctance that the Welsh expressed to the sovereignty of Edward, amidst other motives of conquest, may account for the cruel and vindictive spirit with which, in the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued this unfortunate nation. On this refusal, hostilities continued through the winter.

Llewelyn, having summoned to his aid all the chieftains in South Wales who were his military vassals, came into the marches and took possession of Powis. He banished out of the country Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, one of these chieftains; and received the submission of the other Gryffydh the lord of Dinas-Bran; who perceiving the fortunes of

[f] Math. Paris, 819. Brady, p. 622.

of England finking in the fcale, thought it prudent to return to the duty he had long deferted, and to court the protection of his natural fovereign.[g] Llewelyn then fell with great fury on the eftates of the earl of Gloucefter, gained feveral caftles belonging to that nobleman; and overthrew, with confiderable lofs, a party of Englifh who ventured to oppofe him.[h]

To crufh this revolt, now raifed to a formidable head, Henry once more came in perfon againft Llewelyn; but as if difgrace, and misfortune attended his banners, having only penetrated a little beyond Chefter, he was obliged to retire with lofs into England; gaining no other fruits in this inglorious expedition, than the fatisfaction of deftroying the corn as he marched through the country.[i] Ann. Dom. 1257.

Early in the fpring a confederacy was formed by all the nobility in Wales, who, having fworn fealty[k] to Llewelyn, renewed their engagements, under the moft folemn ties, to vindicate at every peril their injured liberties and laws. By this union, princes may be taught the danger of tearing up by the roots thofe habits that are grown venerable by time, and that by long ufage are become dear to a people.[l] Ann. Dom. 1258.

[g] Welfh Chron, p. 322. Math. Paris, p. 818. [h] Ibid.

[i] Math. Paris, p. 819, 820. [k] Britifh Ant. Reviv. p. 23.

[l] Math. Paris, p. 818. Welfh Chron. p. 323.

The

The late events had given a fortunate turn to affairs. The present profperity of the Welfh, the fpoils they had taken from the enemy, the general confederacy which had been formed, and the return of Gryffydh ap Madoc to his allegiance, had diffufed through every breaft the hopes of better days. To raife thefe hopes into pious confidence, Llewelyn addreffed his followers in this confolatory and animating language. "Thus far," faid he, "the Lord "God of hofts hath helped us; for it muft appear to all that "the advantages we have obtained are not to be afcribed to "our own ftrength, but to the favour of God, who can as "eafily fave by *few* as by *many*. How fhould we a poor, "weak, and unwarlike people compared with the Englifh, "dare to contend with fo mighty a power if God did not pa-"tronize our caufe? His eye hath feen our affliction, not "only thofe injuries we have fuffered from Geoffry de Lang-"ley, but thofe alfo which we have received from other cruel "inftruments of Henry and of Edward. From this moment "our *all* is at ftake. We are to expect no mercy if we fall "into the hands of the enemy. Let us then ftand firm by "each other. It is our union alone that can render us invin-"cible. You fee how the king of England treats his own "fubjects, how he feifes their eftates, impoverifhes their fa-"milies, and alienates their minds. Will he then fpare *us*, "after all the provocations we have given him, and the farther "acts of hoftility and revenge which we meditate againft him? "No, it is evidently his intention to blot out our name from

"under

" under the face of heaven. Is it not better then at once to " die, and go to God, than to live for a while at the capricious will of another, and at last to suffer some ignominious " death assigned us by an insulting enemy." Animated by this oration, the Welsh infested the English Borders with incessant inroads; in the course of their ravages, by fire, by the sword, and by plunder, they rendered the frontier a scene of desolation.[m]

The confederates then made an inroad into Pembrokeshire, and laid waste that country; they likewise in this expedition had the good fortune to meet with salt, a convenience they had much wanted ever since their brine works had been destroyed by Henry.[n] Notwithstanding the spirit which had of late arisen among the chieftains, the calamities of his country still inclined the Welsh prince to renew his proposals for peace. The English king acceded to the terms offered by Llewelyn, and agreed to a truce for one year.[o] His situation rendered a peace equally necessary to him. He, at this time, was deeply entangled in disputes with his barons: the country, along the marches of England, had been ruined by the ravages of war: the whole confine was become a desert, without buildings, cattle, or inhabitants.[p]

[m] Math. Paris, p. 819. [n] Ibid. p. 818. Welsh Chron. p. 323.

[o] Rymer, vol. I. p. 658. [p] Math. Paris, p. 822. Holinshead, p. 257.

It may raiſe our ſurpriſe, that a prince like Llewelyn, poſſeſſing vigour of mind and deciſion in conduct, at a time when England was weak and internally convulſed, did not take advantage of this fortunate juncture, and of the riſing ſpirit of his country, to fix on a permanent baſis, by wiſe meaſures and deciſive operations, its newly recovered independence. The ſpirit of a people, however ardent at firſt, and riſing from the ſpur of oppreſſion, will inſenſibly die away, if not kept alive by a courſe of activity and enterpriſe; and he might have known, that its extinction, like that of the veſtal fire, would be the omen of his country's ruin.

Meredydh ap Rhys of South Wales, not regarding the oath he had lately taken, revolted from the Welſh confederacy, and engaged in the ſervice of the Engliſh king.[q]

In order to confirm or enlarge the late truce, or to ſettle a peace upon a laſting baſis, prince Edward ſent Patrick de Canton, attended by the late revolted chief, into Wales, to confer on that buſineſs at Emlyn with the Welſh commiſſioners. David the brother of the prince of Wales, lately releaſed out of priſon, appeared with the other deputies in behalf of Llewelyn. The Engliſh commiſſioner having underſtood that his own followers were ſuperior in number to the Welſh, could not refrain from indulging the deteſtation in which he held that nation. To gratify this

[q] Welſh Chron. p. 323.

malignant

malignant ſpirit, he placed his men in a convenient ſituation upon the road, and ſuddenly beſet Llewelyn's commiſſioners, putting many of them to the ſword; the chiefs only eſcaping the perfidy of the Engliſh by a precipitate flight. Fired with reſentment, David, with the chieftains who attended him, having raiſed the country, ſeverely revenged this perfidious conduct, by cutting in pieces Patrick and a great number of his followers. Nothing ſo ſtrongly marks the animoſity of the Engliſh, and the feeble hold which the claims of the Welſh had on the juſtice of Henry, as when we ſee that prince, inſtead of vindicating the honour of his crown, in puniſhing ſo flagrant a violation of national faith, affecting to ſhew reſentment for ſo juſt and natural a retaliation.

Such however was the deſire that the Welſh prince had for peace, or ſuch the ſituation of his affairs, that he made freſh propoſals to Henry for a truce; and more effectually to conciliate his favour, he offered to give the king four thouſand marks, three hundred to his ſon Edward, and two hundred to the queen.[r] The late affair, with a ſenſe of former loſſes, had ſo exaſperated Henry, that he at firſt refuſed to hear of any accommodation. At length a truce was ſettled for a year, and ratified by the commiſſioners of the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery.[s] Ann. Dom. 1259.

[r] Math. Paris, p. 841.

[s] Welſh Chron. p. 324. Rymer, p. 684.

 The

The ſpirit of patriotiſm which ſo lately animated every boſom, and which afforded a ray of hope that the ſufferings of this injured people would at length find a period, appears, at this time, to be nearly extinguiſhed. The biſhop of Bangor was ſent by Llewelyn, at the deſire of the Welſh nobility, to ſolicit peace from Henry; and to offer that prince ſixteen thouſand pounds weight of ſilver, provided his ſubjects might enjoy their ancient cuſtoms and laws, and have all their diſputes heard, and legally determined at Cheſter.[t] In this negociation, nothing farther was concluded than the continuation of the truce for one year, which was ratified by the commiſſioners of the two princes at Oxford.[u]

Ann. Dom. 1260.

Sir Roger Mortimer governor of the caſtle of Buellt, under prince Edward, in purſuance of a ſummons, attended his duty in the Engliſh parliament.

Under the alledged reaſon, that contrary to his oath that lord had ſupported the Engliſh cauſe, Llewelyn, in his abſence, ſurpriſed in the night the fortreſs of Buellt, in breach of the truce then ſubſiſting; and continuing his rout into South Wales, after committing great depredations, he returned into his own dominions.[x] Inſinuations on this account being thrown out againſt Sir Roger's conduct, who was a near relation to Llewelyn, it was thought neceſſary

[t] Math. Weſtm. p. 148. Welſh Chron. p. 325. Holinſhead, p. 261.

[u] Rymer, p. 708. [x] Welſh Chron. p. 325. Rymer, p. 705.

that

that ſome inquiry ſhould be made into that affair. Accordingly he was called before the Engliſh council, where he was fully acquitted, though very much to the diſſatisfaction of prince Edward, who, in the council, formally entered his proteſt againſt it.[y]

To check this riſing ſpirit of revolt, and to chaſtiſe the Welſh for the late infraction of the peace, ſummonſes were ſent to the earls of Hereford and Glouceſter, to aſſemble on a certain day at Shrewſbury with their followers. The like notices were alſo ſent to all the tenants who held of the king in capite, in the ſeveral counties of York, Lancaſter, Rutland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland; of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick and Leiceſter, to form a junction at Cheſter, and from thence to aſſiſt in carrying on the war. The thunders of the church were likewiſe pointed at the head of Llewelyn. That prince was excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, in default of immediate reſtitution and reparation of damages.[z] This formidable army was commanded by Simon de Montford earl of Leiceſter. That general, finding the ſummer too far advanced to purſue his operations, or it is probable, from ſome ſecret motives of his own, adviſed the court of England to grant a peace to Llewelyn; he likewiſe did not prevent the Welſh prince at the ſame time from committing depredations in South Wales.[a]

[y] Rymer, p. 706, 707, 708.
[z] Ibid. p. 708.
[a] Rymer, vol. I. p. 709, 710, 711. Guthrie's Engliſh Hiſt. p. 789.

It

It is aſſerted, that Llewelyn diſperſed the riſing ſtorm, by diſavowing the fact which gave occaſion to the war, and by employing the biſhop of Bangor to ſolicit a renewal of the truce.[b] It is certain, however, that a truce was ſettled for one year longer between the two princes at the Ford of Montgomery. In this treaty, the conditions of peace concluded at Oxford were ratified: That each party ſhould keep poſſeſſion of their lands, vaſſals, and caſtles: That the fords ſhould not be ſtopped, nor any other communication, nor the woods be cut down; and that the caſtles of Gannock and Diſerth, then in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions as occaſion might require.[c] It is worthy of remark, that two ſets of commiſſions were iſſued, to the ſame effect, and in the ſame words; except that in the one, the name of prince Edward was joined to that of his father; but in the other commiſſion his name was omitted. This was probably owing to an idea, that as the Welſh had conceived much jealouſy of, and diſlike to the young prince, the inſertion of his name, as a contracting party, might be ſome impediment to the treaty.[d]

Ann. Dom. 1261.

A party of the Welſh having taken and deſtroyed the caſtle of Melienyth in Radnorſhire, belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer; that nobleman came with a great body of lords and knights; and having taken poſſeſſion of it, poſted him-

[b] Rymer, vol. I. p. 718. [c] Ibid.

[d] Carte's Hiſt. England. Guthrie's Hiſt. England.

ſelf

ſelf within its ruins. In this ſituation, he was ſuddenly inveſted by Llewelyn. Finding his poſt untenable, Mortimer ſent to the Welſh prince for licence to evacuate the caſtle. It was a ſtrange requeſt for an open enemy, or a ſuſpected traitor to make. With a gallantry of ſpirit, which might have been derived from the pureſt ideas of chivalry, Llewelyn allowed him to depart out of the diſmantled fortreſs without any moleſtation. The prince of Wales then proceeded to Brecknock, at the requeſt of the inhabitants of that country; and having received their oaths of fidelity, he returned to Aber under *Penmaen Mawr*, a palace between Conway and Bangor, in which he occaſionally reſided.[e]

Ann. Dom. 1261.

The truce appears to have been continued between the two nations on principles of equal juſtice, and on the footing of independent ſtates.[f] Theſe treaties ſucceſſively renewed, did not reſult ſo much from any moderation in Engliſh politics, as from the nature of Henry's government, which was weak, and in great diſorder.

Ann. Dom. 1262.

At this time Henry was ſick in France. The earl of Leiceſter then attending the king, and who had been deeply engaged in oppoſition to that prince, taking advantage of his illneſs, paſſed over into England, to reanimate his party,

[e] Welſh Chron. p. 325, 326. Cambden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 585.

[f] Rymer, p. 739, 750.

and

and to take meaſures for renewing the troubles of the nation.[g] Though the earl did not ſtay long in the country, he ſeems in that time, to have formed the confederacy, which, it is univerſally agreed, he entered into with the prince of Wales.[h] The effects of this treaty were of great moment, though of leſs importance than might have been expected, if Llewelyn had waited till time had fully ripened the enterpriſe.

The Chriſtmas holidays were ſcarcely over, when the prince of Wales, with three hundred horſe, and thirty thouſand foot, fell upon the marches of England; and having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore, he took two of Sir Roger Mortimer's caſtles.[i] Though Mortimer was not able to oppoſe the main body of the enemy, he was not wanting to himſelf on this occaſion; but calling to his aſſiſtance the lords marchers, he attacked their detached parties, killing great numbers at a time, in various rencounters.[k] For theſe loſſes the prince of Wales took ample revenge, having had the good fortune to cut off a like number of the Engliſh.[l] It does not appear that Llewelyn, in this expedition, committed any ravages, but on thoſe lands which belonged to Roger de Mortimer, and others who adhered to the king's cauſe. Having waſted their eſtates with fire and ſword, he marched his forces into the earldom

Ann. Dom. 1263.

[g] Math. Weſtm. p. 149. Math. Paris, p. 851. [h] Ibid.
[i] Rymer, p. 754. [k] Holinſhead, p. 263. [l] Ibid.

of

of Chefter, to make the like depredations on Edward's territories.[m]

The war becoming now alarming, Henry, who was returned into his own dominions, fent an order to his fon to come immediately into England; the young prince being at this time in France, amufing himfelf agreeably to the tafte of the age, in *jou/ts* and *tournaments*.[n] Edward, placing no confidence in the Englifh nobility, engaged in his fervice one hundred foreign knights; who, leaving the femblance of war, were defirous of fignalifing themfelves in more perilous encounters.

Edward on his arrival in England, loft no time in marching againft Llewelyn. His prefence was highly neceffary to check that prince's career. For befides the dreadful devaftations he had committed on the territories of Edward, through which he had marched, the prince of Wales had already taken the caftle of Diferth, and the important fortrefs of Gannock.[o] Thefe pofts were immediately deftroyed. The latter was of the utmoft value to the Englifh, and highly dangerous to the fafety of Wales. Situated on the coaft, it was open to receive a continual fupply of provifion and foldiers; and, commanding one of the principal paffes into Wales over the water of the Conway, its

[m] Math. Paris, p. 850. [n] Rymer, p. 755.
[o] Jo. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 162. Math. Paris, p. 851. Math. Weft. p. 149.

garrison was enabled to cut off the excursionary parties of the Welsh; and, being likewise a place of great strength, in point of situation and structure, it afforded the English a secure retreat upon any disaster.

On the approach of the English prince, Llewelyn passed the Conway, and sheltered himself amidst the mountains of Snowdun. There was no attacking the enemy in so difficult a post; and, fortunately for Edward, as his pride might have been wounded by the issue of the campaign, he was recalled by his father on an affair of importance.[p]

Soon after this event, the castle of Mold, another place of strength upon the frontier, and usually in the possession of the English, was taken and demolished by Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, at this time returned to his allegiance to the prince of Wales.[q] These three castles being taken, rendered a great part of the English confine almost defenceless. The reduction of these fortresses, strong by nature and art, lying on the frontier, and situated near the sea, was an event glorious to Llewelyn, and of the utmost importance. And if this nation had not been sinking into ruin, with a force too powerful to be resisted, it might, by these important successes, have continued some ages longer an illustrious monument to the world, of what men are capable of per-

Ann. Dom. 1263.

[p] Holinshead, p. 264. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

[q] Welsh Chron. p. 326.

forming,

forming, whofe native fpirit is fharpened by injuries, and who, in the receffes of their mountains, are contending for freedom.

In this fituation of affairs the truce was continued a year longer.

The difcontented humours, which had been long forming among the Englifh, were now come to a head; and under the guidance of Simon de Montford the earl of Leicefter, had broken out into a dangerous rebellion.

The two fons of *Montfort* were fent with a ftrong body of forces, to co-operate with Llewelyn in his ravages on the Borders.[r] The confederate army, for a time, made a dreadful progrefs, though oppofed by Mortimer and other lords of the marches; and at length took the caftle of Radnor, and burned it to the ground.[s] As foon as Edward was informed of thefe hoftilities, he made a hafty march from London to the affiftance of Mortimer, then invefted by the enemy in the caftle of Wigmore. That fortrefs was foon after taken, but not before Mortimer had made his efcape; who fled for protection to prince Edward, then arrived at Hereford.[t] Purfuing his rout, the young prince took the

[r] Carte's Hift. England, vol. I. p. 141.

[s] Holinfhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Math. Paris, p. 851.

[t] Ibid.

 feveral

ſeveral caſtles of Hay, Huntington, and Brecknock, the cuſtody of which he committed to Sir Roger Mortimer.[u] The operations on both ſides were ſuddenly interrupted by a truce; during which time a treaty was to be carried on between the king and the barons, in the preſence of the French ambaſſador.[x] In this treaty, a remiſſion of offences

Ann. Dom. 1264. took place, in which Llewelyn was included as the confederate of Simon de Montford.[y]

David the brother of Llewelyn, deſerting the duty he owed to his ſovereign, and the ties of natural affection, fled into England, and engaged in the intereſts of Henry.[z] The ſame unſteady temper, and turbulency of ſpirit, through every ſucceeding period, tinged the colour of his life.

Ann. Dom. 1264. The chance of war at the battle of Lewes, had thrown the king of England and his ſon, into the hands of the earl of Leiceſter.[a] To ſubdue the only enemies which were now able to reſiſt his arms, that general marched into the Borders, and carried Henry with him as a pageant of ſtate; thinking that the preſence of his ſovereign would in ſome meaſure give a ſanction to his proceedings. Mortimer, and other lords, engaged in the royal cauſe, expecting to be attacked, had broken down the bridge at Worceſter; and

[u] Holinſhead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Math. Paris, p. 851.
[x] Rymer, p. 775, 780. [y] Ibid. p. 782, 783, 784.
[z] Welſh Chron. p. 326. [a] Math. Paris, p. 853.

having

having deſtroyed the ferry-boats, they encamped on the oppoſite banks of the river Severn.[b] Theſe precautions prevented the earl of Leiceſter from penetrating farther than Worceſter. The entrance into the country was ſoon opened by Llewelyn, his friend and ally; who, by a ſudden inroad upon the Borders, diverted the attention, and weakened the operation of the lords of the marches.[c]

The confederate army, having entered into Hereford, left prince Edward a priſoner in that city. They then ravaged the lands of Sir Roger Mortimer, and taking the caſtles of Hay and Ludlow, proceeded to Montgomery.[d] An admonitory bull was iſſued by Ottobani the legate to the Welſh prince; requiring him to reſtore the caſtles he had taken, and to withdraw from the confederacy. This mandate did not produce the deſired effect. The lords of the marches, therefore, yielding to a ſuperior force, and deſirous of obtaining the liberty of Edward, ſubmitted to the earl of Leiceſter. They agreed to ſurrender to him their eſtates and their caſtles, and to relinquiſh the realm for one year.[e] In this enterpriſe David the brother of Llewelyn, taking an active part againſt the confederates, in conjunction with lord James Audley and ſome other barons of the marches, was defeated at Cheſter with great loſs.[f] Soon after the above-

[b] Chronica, T. Wykes, p. 68.

[c] Brady, p. 648. Annal. Waverleienſis, p. 220.

[d] Math. Paris, p. 854. [e] Brady, p. 648. [f] Holinſhead, p. 269.

mentioned

Ann. Dom. 1265. mentioned treaty, a general peace was concluded, at a conference held by Llewelyn and Leicester, at Hereford.[g]

A few months after prince Edward, then resident with the English court at Hereford, escaped out of the power of the earl of Leicester.[h] The young prince was instantly joined by the lords of the marches; who regaining the possession of their own fortresses, made themselves masters of all the country between Hereford and Chester.[i] By a sudden and rapid movement of the enemy, Leicester found himself surrounded by different bodies of troops. In this situation, he had no other resource, than to throw himself into the arms of Llewelyn. That prince resolving to make every advantage of the present conjuncture, demanded, as the only condition of affording him protection, a full restitution to the inheritance and the dignity of his ancestors. Under the sanction of the king's name, the sovereignty of Wales was restored to Llewelyn, with the homage of all the Welsh barons; he received a grant also of the lordship of Whittington and the hundred of Elesmere; with the castles of Maude, Ann. Dom. 1265. Harwarden and Montgomery.[k] To strengthen the union, and to render it more lasting, the earl of Leicester made an offer to the prince of Wales of his daughter Eleanor de Montford.

[g] Rymer, p. 814. [h] Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 67.

[i] Math. Paris, p. 855. Rymer, p. 810.

[k] Rymer, p. 814. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 219.

Montford. This alliance coincided too well with his present views to be refuſed by Llewelyn.[l]

There is often a turn in human affairs, ariſing from preſent exigencies, which neither ſagacity can foreſee, nor power can prevent, and which, if taken up with ſpirit and wiſely conducted, leads on to proſperity; and marks no inconſiderable degree of political wiſdom. Thus Llewelyn obtained in a fortunate moment, by his own ſpirit and judgment, acting on the nice and peculiar ſituation of Henry, the ſovereignty of Wales, and an enlargement of territory; objects which many of his anceſtors, the moſt able and brave, had negociated and fought for in vain.

In conſequence of this treaty, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the eſtate of the earl of Glouceſter; he likewiſe ſent a body of Welſh to form a junction with Leiceſter, to enable him to extend his quarters, or to force his way through the enemy.[m] Leiceſter reaped no advantage either from the diverſion made in his favour, or from the Welſh forces which had joined him. Having retired to Newport, he was there inveſted by Edward, and ſo powerfully aſſaulted by that prince, that his ruin muſt have been inevitable, had he not ſtolen away with his army in the dead of the night; which, being very ſtormy, favoured

l Chronica de Mailros, p. 234. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 219.

m Thomas Wykes, p. 68, 69. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 219.

the

the enterprife. He had the good fortune to efcape from the enemy, and to regain the territories of Llewelyn. The manner of living to which the Welfh were accuftomed, chiefly on flefh and milk, and without much bread, not agreeing with his foldiers, his army daily wafted away. To preferve the remainder, Leicefter was forced to leave the country, and traverfing through woods and mountainous roads, he at length with much difficulty got back to Hereford.[o]

The victory obtained by prince Edward at the battle of Everfham gave liberty to Henry his father, and reftored the tranquillity of England. The death of Montford, the enlivening fpirit of the whole, was a fatal blow to the confederacy. After fome flight refiftance, the Englifh barons laid down their arms, and fubmitted to Henry; their fpirit being entirely fubdued, or foftened down by the moderation of his conduct. Henry had now leifure to look back on the part which had been acted by Llewelyn. He had feen with a jealous eye that prince, through the courfe of the war, ably fomenting the difcontents, and powerfully affifting the arms of the revolted lords; and it was now determined, before the army was difbanded, that the prince of Wales fhould feel the whole weight of Henry's refentment.[p]

[o] Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 69.

[p] Brady, p. 663. Math. Paris, p. 857.

In purſuance of this deſign, that prince came with an army to Shrewſbury: Llewelyn, without an ally to ſupport him, was not able to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy; and rather than hazard his crown, the luſtre of which he had lately reſtored, upon an iſſue ſo precarious and unequal, he thought it more prudent to appeaſe Henry's reſentment by an early ſubmiſſion.[q]

A treaty in conſequence took place, by the mediation of Ottobani the legate, which marked the mild tenor of Henry's temper, and was more favourable to Llewelyn's intereſts, than might have been expected from a ſovereign, warm with reſentment, and giving law to a ſuppliant enemy. The conditions of the treaty were the following: That all lands ſhould be reſtored on both ſides, and that the laws or cuſtoms of the marches ſhould ſtill be preſerved: That Henry ſhould grant unto Llewelyn and his heirs the principality of Wales, and that they ſhould always be ſtiled the princes of Wales, and ſhould receive the homage and fealty of all the Welſh barons, who were to hold their lands of them in capite; except the homage of Meredydh ap Rhys of South Wales, which the king reſerved to himſelf and his heirs: the king likewiſe granted him the four inland cantrevs, to hold them as fully as ever the king and his heirs had poſſeſſed them. For theſe privileges Llewelyn, and his ſucceſſors were to ſwear fealty, to do homage, and perform

q Ibid.

the uſual ſervices, due to the king and his heirs, as they had ever been paid to the crown of England; and likewiſe that Llewelyn ſhould pay to the king twenty-five thouſand marks:[r] the peace was concluded at the caſtle of Montgomery, and ratified by the king in perſon; it likewiſe received, at the hands of the legate, the ſanction of the Pope's authority.[s]

Ann. Dom. 1267.

Ann. Dom. 1270.

In this year died Gryffydh the lord of Dinas-Bran, and was buried in the abbey which his father had erected in the Vale of Crucis near Llangollen.[t]

It is with pleaſure we ſurvey this gallant nation, ſo long the victims of ambition and the ſport of fortune, regain the importance of their ſtation; and, freed at length from the arms of a potent enemy, again left to enjoy their liberties, for a ſeaſon, upon their native rocks.

At this time prince Edward engaged in a croiſade to the Holy Land; hurried along by that fatal tide, which nearly for two centuries had deluged the eaſt. On that elevated ſtage his ſplendid talents enabled him to act a graceful and diſtinguiſhed part.

[r] Hen. de Knyghton de Even. Ang. p. 2436. Math. Weſtm. p. 164. Rymer, p. 843, 844. Math. Paris, p. 857, ſays £32000. Welſh Chron. p. 327.

[s] Ibid. [t] Welſh Chron. p. 327.

In

In this year died Henry the king of England. His eldest son, under the title of Edward the first, succeeded to the throne. Ann. Dom. 1272.

For some years past, and during the time that Edward was fighting in Palestine, the Welsh enjoyed a season of unusual tranquillity; a delusive calm, which was only the presage of impending calamities.

On the death of Henry, an order was sent to the prince of Wales by the regency of England, to repair to the Ford of Montgomery; there to take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the absent king. Llewelyn thought proper to pay no obedience to the summons.[u] Ann. Dom. 1273.

In the course of this year the king of England, matured in the arts of policy, and renowned for exploits in arms, returned into his own dominions; where he early entered on that career of glory, so beneficial to his own empire, but so fatal to Wales.[x] Ann. Dom. 1274.

Soon after his arrival in London he was solemnly crowned at Westminster. The king of Scotland, as the feudatory of Edward, did homage to the English prince; and with the duke of Bretagne, graced the coronation with his presence.[y] To perform the like duties of homage and fealty, the prince

[u] Rymer, vol. II. p. 2, 3. [x] Math. Westm. p. 371. [y] Ibid.

of Wales received a summons to appear immediately at Shrewsbury; but he refused to quit his dominions, and to venture his safety in the territories of a monarch, so hostile to him, unless hostages were given for the security of his person. The pledges he demanded were the king's brother, the earl of Gloucester, and the chief justice of England.[z] This refusal was rendered still more disagreeable to Edward, as he was likely to be deprived of another fruit of vassalage; for Llewelyn appeared fully determined to solemnise his marriage with Eleanor de Montford, though he had not obtained the king's consent.[a] The Pope, likewise, was so sensible of the justice of his plea, that he inhibited the archbishop of Canterbury from issuing any papal censure against Llewelyn.[b] When the nature of his situation is considered, the caution of the Welsh prince was justified on the principle of self-preservation. In the bosoms of the two princes, hatred and jealousy had long mingled with the love of glory, and the desire of dominion: David and Roderic the younger brothers of the prince of Wales, were entertained in the court of England: many Welsh chieftains who had fled from the justice of their country, were under the protection of Edward; and, influenced by every motive of hope and of fear, were desirous to promote the destruction of their sovereign: Llewelyn, likewise, too well remem-

[z] Rymer, p. 41. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.
[a] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462.
[b] Rymer, vol. II. p. 35. Math. Westm. p. 171.

bered

bered the fate of his father Gryffydh, to place any confidence in the honour or protection of the English.[c] He furely would have been guilty of folly or rafhnefs in the extreme, if he had ventured a life, of fuch importance to his country, on no other fecurity than fentiments of honour or the courteous ideas of the age, when intereft and refentment fo powerfully confpired his ruin.

The king of England was now in a delicate fituation; he was unwilling to relinquifh his claim of vaffalage, and yet was not at prefent fufficiently prepared to enforce it by arms. But his genius directed him to purfue a wife and a middle line of conduct. He repaired, late in the year, to Chefter, and fummoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewfbury; but that prince refufed to appear without a fafe conduct, and hoftages for the due obfervance of it.[d] Early in the next year, a parliament was held at Weftminfter, and the prince of Wales was again fummoned to appear, and to take the oaths of allegiance.[e] He refufed to pay obedience to this fummons, on the grounds he had heretofore alledged.[f]

Ann. Dom. 1275.

Engaged in correcting the diforders of the kingdom, and inftituting falutary laws, Edward, for the prefent, affected to diffemble his refentment againft Llewelyn; and

c Rymer, vol. II. p. 35.
d J. Roffi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.
e Ibid. f Holinfhead, p. 278.

repaired

repaired to Chefter, where he again fummoned the Welfh prince to do homage;[g] who ftill refufed his compliance. He likewife rejected three other mandates of the fame nature, one of which was dated in October in the fame year, and the two others very early in the year following.[h] To juftify thefe refufals ftill more, to the clergy and to the world, he fent a memorial by the abbots of Conway and Strata-florida, to be delivered into the hands of the archbifhops of Canterbury and York, and other bifhops then affembled in convocation.[i] There is a native fimplicity which runs through the whole of this memorial,[k] reciting his grievances and juftifying his conduct, which more ably pleads the caufe of the Welfh prince than the exercife of the fineft talents could have done.

The tenor of Edward's conduct with refpect to Llewelyn, did not delude the fagacity of that prince. He faw, that a blow was meditating by the Englifh king, which, though fufpended for a time, would be the more fevere, and fall with greater weight upon his country, from the coolnefs, the delay, and increafing power of that firm and fagacious monarch.

Llewelyn, therefore, thought it prudent, at this time, to fulfil an engagement he had formerly made, and to enter

[g] Rymer, vol. II. p. 57. [h] Ibid. p. 68.
[i] Wynne's Hift. Wales, p. 280. Welfh Chron. p. 329, 330.
[k] See Appendix, No. II.

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into an alliance which might yield him ſupport againſt the formidable power of his rival. In the courſe of the late war, he had been betrothed to a daughter of Simon de Montford; who, at that time, it is probable, was too young to ſolemnize the marriage. On the death of her father, the young lady had retired into the monaſtery of Montargis in France. In this court her mother the counteſs of Leiceſter, and her brother the heir of the family, lived in great ſplendour.[l] The adherents of the houſe of Montford were ſtill powerful in England; and the fame of the Engliſh monarch, had made him the object of jealouſy with the French king. To unite the views of the two parties in ſupport of his intereſt, or ſtruck with the reputation of her charms, now riſing into full beauty, the prince of Wales demanded of the king of France the daughter of the late earl of Leiceſter. Philip with much facility granted his requeſt; and Llewelyn waited in impatient expectation of his intended bride.[m]

The pleaſing ideas, which the proſpect of his approaching nuptials afforded Llewelyn, were however ſuddenly imbittered by diſappointment, and loſt in the ruder avocations of war.

Early in this year, the young lady, who was couſin to the Engliſh king, attended by her brother Amaury a clergy- Ann. Dom. 1276.

[l] Polidore Vergil, p. 321. Math. Weſtm. p. 171. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 104.

[m] Ibid.

man,

man, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Wales to ſolemnize her marriage with Llewelyn; but near the iſles of Scilly ſhe had the misfortune to be taken priſoner by four ſhips from the port of Briſtol, and was conveyed to the court of England. Inſtead of the lady's being delivered into the hands of her lover, which the ideas of the age might have ſuggeſted, and every law of chivalry demanded, ſhe was detained in the Engliſh court in an honourable attendance on the queen.[o] Her brother, likewiſe, was kept in confinement many years in the caſtles of Corfe and Sherburn; nor did he at length obtain his liberty, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain; and after he had taken an oath that he would relinquiſh the realm, and never be concerned in any commotion in the kingdom.[p]

After ſo deciſive a conduct, lenient meaſures, and the arts of expediency were weak, deluſive and fruitleſs. Edward now determined to exert every effort, which his power and his talents afforded, to obtain, what had long been the object of his ambition, the entire conqueſt of Wales. Before meaſures were taken to carry this deſign into execution, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other prelates and lords of the realm deſired Edward, as the laſt expedient, to afford Llewelyn one opportunity more of acknowledging the ſovereignty of England, and of yielding to its orders unconditional obedience. For this purpoſe, the archdeacon of

[o] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 231, 232. [p] Rymer, vol. II. p. 144, 193, 197.

Canterbury

Canterbury was ſent into Wales, with an injunction to Llewelyn to appear at court, and to perform the cuſtomary duties of a vaſſal.[q]

At this time Llewelyn was in arms, and had ravaged the Engliſh Borders; reſenting the conduct of Edward, and alive to the feelings of an injured prince, deeply wounded by the captivity of his expected bride.[r]

The archdeacon of Canterbury was ordered to make his report to the next parliament, which was to be held on the thirteenth of October following. In the mean time the prince of Wales ſent letters to the king, ſignifying that he would come to Montgomery or Oſweſtry to perform his homage, provided a ſafe conduct was allowed him, under the ſanction of the archbiſhop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the biſhop of Winton, and five other Engliſh lords.[s] He likewiſe demanded that the king ſhould confirm the articles of peace made between Henry the third and himſelf; and ſhould deliver into his hands Eleanor de Montford the lady to whom he was contracted, and all her retinue, who, he ſaid, were detained in cuſtody contrary to the faith of nations.[t] Theſe juſt and ſimple demands excited in the Engliſh parliament a general indignation. They granted a fifteenth of moveables to enable the king to reduce Llewelyn by force of Ann. Dom. 1276.

[q] Rymer, vol. II. p. 68. [r] Polidore Vergil, p. 321. Holinſhead, p. 278.
[s] Rymer, vol. II. p. 68. [t] Ibid.

arms; the prelates, likewiſe, gave him a voluntary ſubſidy; though their zeal in this inſtance did not riſe above their prudence, as they made a proviſion, that in future it ſhould not be drawn into precedent. In the preſence of the Engliſh monarch, ſitting in his court, with the lords of his council, the judges, and a great number of biſhops, earls, and barons, the whole proceſs was read on November the twelfth; and ſentence was pronounced upon Llewelyn for contumacy, for violation of the peace between him and the late king, and for the hoſtilities he had lately committed in the marches. It was there determined to proceed againſt him as a traitor, and a contumacious vaſſal. It was likewiſe reſolved in the ſame aſſembly, that all the military tenants of the crown ſhould be ſummoned to appear at Worceſter, on the midſummer following, with horſes and arms, ready for an expedition into Wales; that in the mean time, the marches ſhould be well guarded, and the forts ſupplied with ammunition; that the king ſhould prohibit all his ſubjects in England, Ireland, and Guienne, from holding any correſpondence with Llewelyn, or his adherents, from giving them any aſſiſtance, or ſupplying them with any proviſions; and whoever violated this prohibition, was to be adjudged an adherent to the public enemies of the king and kingdom, and to ſuffer accordingly.[u]

[u] Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 185, from Pat. 4, Ed. I. m. 6. Rymer, vol. II. p. 72—75.

The authority of the church was not ſilent on this ſolemn occaſion. In this inſtance the prince of Wales experienced the verſatility of her conduct. The archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent a letter to Llewelyn, and threatened him with the ſevereſt cenſures that the clergy were able to inflict; and a few months after, his perſon was excommunicated, and his kingdom laid under an interdict.[x]

In the late negociation, the prince of Wales had offered the Engliſh king a large ſum of money as a ranſom for Eleanor de Montford. Edward, on his part, refuſed to ſet her at liberty, unleſs he would reſtore to the right owners the lands he had lately taken from them, and alſo repair all the caſtles he had demoliſhed.[y] However ardent the deſire of gaining poſſeſſion of the lady might be, the duty he owed to his country prevailed, and Llewelyn rejected the propoſal with diſdain: upon which, the two princes proceeded in their preparations for war.

Early in the ſpring Edward ſent into the marches three hundred horſe well appointed, to check the incurſions of the Welſh, and to guard the confine;[z] he likewiſe made Sir Roger Mortimer general of his forces in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and in the adjacent countries. He Ann. Dom. 1277.

x Rymer. vol. II. p. 71, 79.

y Math. Weſtm. p. 172. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 231.

z Math. Weſtm. p. 172. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 232.

appointed the firſt day of July for his military tenants to aſſemble at Worceſter.[a]

The experience of paſt ages had proved to the Engliſh kings, that a want of public virtue in its chieftains was the vulnerable part of Wales. To ſeduce them from their duty at this criſis, was of too much importance to be neglected by Edward. In order to encourage a defection among the Welſh lords, orders were given to the earl of Warwick, and Payen de Chaworth, the one commander in Cheſhire, and the other in South Wales, to receive into favour ſuch of Llewelyn's adherents, as were willing to ſubmit to the authority, and become the vaſſals of the king of England.[b] The policy of Edward fatally prevailed. Rhys ap Meredydh the lord of Dinevawr, deſcended from the ancient princes of South Wales, ſet the example of diſloyalty, on the only condition of holding his lands immediately from the king, and not being the ſubject of any other lord.[c] The defection of ſo eminent a chieftain as Rhys ap Meredydh had a fatal influence in the country; all the lords in South Wales followed his example; and, as a voluntary fruit of their ſubmiſſion, the ſtrong fortreſs of Stratywy was given up to the Engliſh, who, for the better defence of the country, erected a caſtle at Aberyſtwyth.[d]

[a] Rymer, vol. II. p. 72. [b] Ibid. vol. II. p. 72, 81. [c] Ibid. p. 81.

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 334, 336. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 162.

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The æra is now at no great diſtance which is to mark the cloſe of the ancient Britiſh empire. Conſidering the ſituation of the Welſh and their unequal reſources, the operations of Edward in conducting the war, planned in wiſdom and carried on with vigour, muſt in the nature of things enſure its ſucceſs.

Soon after Eaſter, Edward left London to regulate the meaſures of the enſuing campaign, in the full reſolution never to return until he had entirely ſubdued the Welſh nation. He ordered a fleet from the Cinque Ports to cruize on the coaſt of Wales, with a view to intercept the commerce of the enemy, and alſo to reduce the iſland of Anglesey, that the Welſh might be deprived of their uſual reſource, of drawing proviſions from that quarter.[e] At the ſame time he ſent a body of troops into South Wales, to reinforce the army under the command of Payen de Chaworth, in order to diſtract the enemies attention, and reduce that country to a perfect ſubmiſſion to the English government.[f] Each of theſe manœuvres produced the deſired effect. That the adminiſtration of juſtice might not be delayed, by the abſence of the king, and the length of the war, he removed the court of exchequer, and the court of king's bench, to Shrewſbury.[g]

[e] Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

[f] Welſh Chron. p. 324.

[g] Math. Weſtm. p. 172.

Ann. Dom. 1277.

These meaſures being taken, on the midſummer following the king of England, at the head of a formidable army, advanced into Cheſhire, intending to penetrate the enemies country, through that part of the frontier which borders on the Dee. His forces were likewiſe increaſed by numbers of country people who joined him in the marches, and who, it is likely, were uſefully employed as pioneers to the army, in opening roads through a deep foreſt, which extended from the confines of Cheſhire to Caernarvonſhire.[h]

During this tedious operation, Edward encamped his forces on Saltney marſh near Cheſter, which lies along the borders of the river Dee.[i] During this time, he rebuilt the caſtle of Flint, and more ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of Rhuddlan, to ſecure the country he had already ſubdued, and to afford his army a ſafe retreat, in caſe he ſhould meet with any diſaſter.[k]

The roads being finiſhed, and no enemy appearing to moleſt them, the Engliſh advanced through the level part of the country as far as Conway. The prince of Wales, unable to face a powerful enemy preſſing on by ſlow, cautious, and deciſive operations, retired to the mountains of Snowdun.[l] Not chooſing to enter the receſſes of that difficult

[h] Thomas Wyke, p. 105. Brady, vol. II. p. 7.
[i] Brady, vol. II. p. 7. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 888.
[k] Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Thomas Wykes, p. 105.
[l] Math. Weſtm. p. 173. Thoms Wyke, p. 105.

country,

country, the Engliſh monarch calmly waited the reſult of his policy.

The genius of Llewelyn, weighed in the balance with that of Edward, ſunk in the ſcale. With a fatality, which had uſually attended the princes of his houſe, he had truſted the ſafety of Wales to the chance of war, and to its natural ſituation, the ſtrength of which had ſo often baffled the armies of England, unable long to ſubſiſt in a country, broken by rocks and rivers, woods, and barren mountains. Not preparing for contingences, nor obſerving the meaſures of the Engliſh king, nor the effects already produced, Llewelyn had neglected to furniſh with the neceſſary ſtock of proviſions an important poſt, to which he and his people might be forced to retire.[m] The experience of paſt ages might have taught him the wiſdom of a different conduct. Had he purſued the meaſures which the nature of his ſituation required, he might probably have ſeen the Engliſh army waſting away, and, at the approach of winter, abandoning all its conqueſts, and leaving him once more in poſſeſſion of his country. But after all, there might be ſtrong reaſons, of which the annals of the times are ſilent, to excuſe in the Welſh prince, a conduct ſo fatal to his intereſts.

The proſpect which opened to Llewelyn, on the mountains of Snowdun, was dreary and deſolate. His enemies

[m] Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

were

were maſters of the country below, and ſeemed determined, by their perſeverance, to ſtarve him into ſubmiſſion. The iſland of Angleſey, his uſual reſource for proviſions, was then poſſeſſed by the Engliſh.[n] No diverſion could be made in his favour in South Wales or in England, as the former country had lately ſubmitted to Edward's authority, and in the latter the adherents of the houſe of Montford[o] were ſatisfied by having their forfeited eſtates reſtored to them. The diſtreſs of Llewelyn was heightened ſtill more by the proſpect of an immediate famine.[p]

In this ſituation he had no better alternative than to implore the mercy of the Engliſh king. A magnani[illegible] prince, like Llewelyn, the freedom of his country being loſt, would ſcarcely have wiſhed to ſurvive its ruin, if the ſufferings of his people, crowding around him, and periſhing by famine, had not claimed his pity, and inclined him to hazard his perſonal ſafety and intereſt from a tender regard to theirs. It is poſſible, too, this prince might hope, that in the event of ſome future day, he might again riſe upon the wheel of fortune.

In this ſtate of his affairs, the prince of Wales ſent to propoſe an accommodation with the king of England. There was little generoſity or pity to be expected in the terms

[n] Thomas Wyke, p. 105. [o] Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 887.
[p] Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

which

which were offered by Edward to the Welſh prince. As a firſt and neceſſary condition of the peace, it was required of Llewelyn, that he ſhould ſubmit to the mercy of the conqueror.[q] On this baſis, the peace was concluded on the following terms; and afterwards ratified, in the abſence of the king, at Aberconwy, by the commiſſioners of the two princes.[r] It was agreed, that all priſoners who were confined by Llewelyn, for adhering to the Engliſh cauſe, ſhould be ſet at liberty. That the prince ſhould pay to the king fifty thouſand marks, as a compenſation for the injuries committed, and for being received into favour. That four cantrevs ſhould be given up to the king, and remain with him and his heirs for ever.[s] Theſe were the cantrev of Rhos, in which ſtood the caſtle of Diganwy; the cantrev of Rhyvonioc, the chief place of which was Denbigh; the cantrev of Tegengl, where ſtood the caſtle of Rhuddlan; the cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and caſtle of Rythyn.[t] That the adherents of the Engliſh king ſhould be reſtored to all the lands they had poſſeſſed before the war. That the prince ſhould hold the iſland of Angleſey, and ſhould pay for that privilege the annual ſum of one thouſand marks; but if he died without iſſue, the iſland was then to revert to the king and his heirs for ever.[u] That all the barons in Wales ſhould

q Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 95, 97.

r Ibid.

s J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Math. Weſtm. p. 873. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 232.

t Welſh Chron. p. 334.

u Chron. T. Wykes, p. 106

hold their lands immediately of the king, except five barons in Snowdun, who ſhould acknowledge the prince as their lord during his life. That Llewelyn ſhould come into England every Chriſtmas to do homage to the king. That he ſhould repair to Rhuddlan as ſoon as he was abſolved from the cenſures of the church, to take the oath of fealty to the king; and likewiſe that he ſhould perform the ſame duties in London on the day appointed for that purpoſe. That he ſhould enjoy, during his life, the title of prince of Wales; and that after his death, the five barons of Snowdun ſhould hold their eſtates of the Engliſh king. That for the performance of theſe articles, the prince ſhould deliver as hoſtages ten of the moſt eminent chieftains in Wales. That Llewelyn ſhould ſend every year twenty chieftains out of North Wales, who, with himſelf, ſhould take their oaths for the due performance of theſe articles. If the prince ſhould infringe any of them, and on being admoniſhed, refuſe to redreſs the ſame, they were then, by their oaths, obliged to forſake his cauſe and take part with his enemies.[x] As a perſonal humiliation to Llewelyn, he was likewiſe obliged to reſtore to his brother Owen his forfeited eſtate, and to pay Roderic an annuity of one thouſand marks, and five hundred to David.[y] Owen by this treaty was alſo delivered from the confinement in which he had been kept by Llewelyn. His brother Roderic had lately eſcaped out

[x] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 232. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 163, 164. Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 90, 91. [y] Rymer, vol. II. p. 88—95.

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of prifon, and had fled into England. David, whom we have heretofore mentioned, was in the fervice of the English king, who had made him a knight, contrary to the cuftom of the Welfh; and had given him likewife in marriage the daughter of the earl of Derby, a handfome widow, and of the queen's bed-chamber,[z] whofe hufband was lately dead. He was appointed the fenefchal, and keeper of all the caftles in Wales, and received alfo from the king the caftles of Denbigh, and of Frodfham in Chefhire, with lands to the yearly value of one thoufand pounds.[a]

The terms agreed upon at this treaty in favour of the prince of Wales were as follow: That if he fhould claim lands occupied by any other perfon than the king, out of the limits of the four ceded cantrevs, juftice fhould in that cafe be adminiftered according to the laws and cuftoms of thofe parts where fuch lands fhould lie. That all injuries and faults committed on either fide fhould be entirely remitted, and receive a full pardon. That all tenants holding lands in the four cantrevs, and in other places in the holding of the king, fhould poffefs them as freely, and enjoy the fame cuftoms and liberties as they did before the time of the wars. All controverfies arifing between the prince and any other perfon fhould be decided after the laws of the marches, if taking their rife in thofe parts; and any difpute origi-

[z] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2463, 2464.

[a] Welfh Chron. p. 335. Rymer, p. 89. Annales Waverleienfis, p. 232.

nating in Wales, ſhould be determined by the laws of that country. That the advantage ariſing out of wrecks, on his territories, ſhould belong to the Welſh prince; and all other cuſtoms ſhould be confirmed to him which had been enjoyed by his anceſtors; and although the prince had ſubmitted entirely to the king's mercy, no injury ſhould be committed, nor any demand ever made contrary to the tenor of the peace.[b]

The Engliſh king, relaxed in ſome degree from the ſeverity of theſe terms, and remitted to Llewelyn the payment of the fifty thouſand marks,[c] as well as the yearly tribute of one thouſand marks which he was to pay for Angleſey; though it appears that he received from that prince two thouſand marks during his ſtay at Rhuddlan.[d]

After the late fortunate campaign, Edward returned into England, amidſt the applauſes of his ſubjects. His triumph, on this occaſion, was heightened by Llewelyn's attending him to London, where he did homage, and ſwore fealty on Chriſtmas-day in the preſence of many prelates and of the nobility of England.[e]

The barons of Snowdun, with other chieftains of the moſt conſiderable families in Wales, accompanying their

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 346, 347, 348. [c] Rymer, vol. II. p. 91, 92.
[d] Holinſhead, p. 277.
[e] Rymer, vol. II. p. 96. Math. Weſtm. p. 173. Chron. T. Wyke, p. 106.

prince

prince to London, brought large retinues with them, as was the cuſtom of their country, and were lodged in Iſlington, and the adjacent villages. Many cauſes conſpired to make their ſituation diſagreeable. Theſe places did not afford a ſufficiency of milk for ſuch numerous trains: they liked neither the wine, nor the beer of London. Though entertained with plenty, they were not pleaſed with their new manner of living, which ſuited neither their taſte, nor, perhaps, their conſtitutions. They were ſtill more diſpleaſed with the crowd of people who attended them, whenever they came out of their quarters; eying them with the utmoſt contempt as ſavages, and laughing at their foreign garb, and unuſual appearance.[f] To be made the ſubject of deriſion, and to be pointed at by the finger of ſcorn, in their various journeys through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could not be pleaſing to a people, proud and iraſcible, who, though vanquiſhed, were ſtill alive to injury or inſult, to a ſenſe of their own valour, and to the fond idea of their native independence. They privately entered into an aſſociation to revolt on the firſt opportunity; reſolving to die in their own country as freemen, rather than come any more as vaſſals into England, to be the ſport of a haughty and contemptuous nation. As ſoon as they returned home, they diffuſed this ſpirit throughout Wales, and it became the common cauſe of the country. This incident, of no great moment in

[f] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 191. from MS. No. 39. inter MSS. Thomas Moſtyn, baronetti, p. 315.

in itſelf, acting with other cauſes, produced in time a change in affairs, of the higheſt importance to Wales.

It was now manifeſt that Edward intended, on the death of Llewelyn, to unite to the Engliſh crown the country he had lately ſubdued. A popular deluſion ſtood in the way of his views. An idea had been fondly kept up in the imaginations of the Welſh, that the celebrated Arthur was ſtill alive, that he was one day to return, and reſtore to the remnant of the Britons the empire of their fathers. To ſet aſide this idle fancy, cheriſhed by the vulgar, and which might have been fatal at this juncture, Edward, and Eleanor his queen, early in the year, undertook a journey to Glaſtonbury, where the remains of that hero lay interred.[g] Under colour of doing honour to this Britiſh king, and affording his bones a more magnificent interment, Edward ordered the body of Arthur to be taken out of its coffin, and, with the remains of Gueniver his queen, to be expoſed to public view. They were then repoſited near the high altar, with an inſcription on the coffin, ſignifying, that theſe were the remains of Arthur; and that they had been viewed by the king and queen of England, in preſence of the earl of Savoy, the elect biſhop of Norwich, with ſeveral other noblemen and clergy.[h] It is eaſy to diſcern the policy of this prince in the ſmaller traits of his character.

Ann. Dom. 1278.

[g] Malmſbury de Antiq. Glaſton. Eccleſiæ, p. 306. Gales Scriptores.

[h] Carte's Hiſt. England, vol. II. p. 187. from Regiſt. Glaſtonbury, penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 233. Stowe's Chron. p. 200. Guthrie's Hiſt. England, vol. I. p. 889.

During

During the king's ſtay at Glaſtonbury a parliament was held in that place; at which meeting Llewelyn was ſummoned to appear, with the probable deſign, that he and his retinue, having ſeen the late ceremony exhibited, might not carry into their country the leaſt hope of advantage, from ſo whimſical a fancy. To this ſummons, however, the prince of Wales did not think proper to pay obedience.[i]

It is eaſy to conceive that Edward, alive to his intereſts and jealous of his power, would be eager to check the contumacy of a vaſſal in Llewelyn's ſituation. With this deſign, attended by his queen, he repaired to Worceſter; where he ſent an order to the Welſh prince to appear, and account for his late conduct. The rigor of this ſummons was ſoftened by an invitation to a royal feaſt which was to be held in that city; with an aſſurance, too, that he ſhould be treated with honour, and that the lovely Eleanor de Montford ſhould be the reward of his obedience.[k] There was a deciſion in this mandate, which love would not ſuffer him to evade, nor prudence to diſobey, and which ſoon brought Llewelyn to the Engliſh court; where, falling at the feet of Edward, and yielding himſelf up to his mercy, that prince ordered him to riſe, and, in conſideration of his dutiful demeanour, was pleaſed to pardon his delinquency; at the ſame time declaring, that if he again preſumed to rebel, he ſhould be puniſhed with the

[i] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Regiſter Glaſtonbury penes Dom. Weymouth. p. 93.
[k] Welſh Chron. p. 348.

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utmoſt ſeverity.[n] Relying on the honour of a great monarch and duped by his artifice, we ſee Llewelyn, the brave deſcendant of a line of independant princes, become amenable to uſurped power.[o]

Having now ſucceeded in his views, and, as he thought, rendered Llewelyn docile in the duties of vaſſalage, Edward gave him back the hoſtages he had lately taken, and alſo delivered up Eleanor de Montford, with the eſtate which had been the property of her father.[p] The marriage was celebrated on the thirteenth of October, the expence of which was defrayed by Edward; and, as a mark of his favour, the ceremony was graced by the preſence of the king himſelf and his queen.[q] On this occaſion, Llewelyn engaged, beſides other conceſſions, to appear twice in the year before the Engliſh parliament.[r] On the very day that the marriage was to be ſolemnized, and juſt as Llewelyn and his intended bride were going to maſs, the king commanded that prince to engage in a covenant, never to protect any perſon whatever contrary to his pleaſure. The rigid ſentiments of duty, put to ſo ſevere a trial, were too weak to ſubdue in the boſom of the Welſh prince the feelings of nature. Alive to the tender paſſion of love, and no doubt in fear, for

[n] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462. [o] Welſh Chron. p. 348.

[p] Rymer, vol. II. p. 125. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

[q] Holinſhead, p. 277. Thomas Wyke, p. 107.

[r] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

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his liberty or life, the firmneſs of the gallant Llewelyn ſunk under their influence. In this ſituation, the enamoured prince ſigned a covenant, which looſened every tie of confidence, and which might in future give up to the reſentment of Edward, the moſt faithful adherent to his intereſts.[a]

It is only from a motive of perſonal diſlike that we are able to account for the inſult which was offered to Llewelyn, in detaining the lady ſo long in the Engliſh court, and impeding the views of honourable love. In this part of Edward's character, we ſee no traces of heroiſm; no reſemblance of the courteous manners, which diſtinguiſhed the better period of the feudal age.

As ſoon as the ceremony was finiſhed, Llewelyn, with his amiable wife, returned into Wales, to ſoothe the aſperity of adverſe fortune in the enjoyment of private felicity.

Few incidents, worthy of notice, occur for ſome time in the hiſtory of Wales. The ſpirit of the people, preſſed down by the rigour of a foreign government, wanted its uſual activity. Regretting the freedom they had loſt, but too weak to recover it, they were ſilent and dejected.

But the ſpirit of the Welſh, though depreſſed and rendered inactive for a time, urged by deſpair into manly

[a] Welſh Chron. p. 348.

efforts, ſoon recovered its native ſpring; and, armed with its wonted terrors, exerted itſelf again in the fields of war.

Ann. Dom. 1280.

The calamities of a public nature, which ſurrounded Llewelyn, were rendered more bitter by domeſtic ſorrow, in the ſevere loſs he ſuſtained by the death of his wife, whoſe mild influence, it is probable, had been hitherto the means of preventing hoſtilities, by reſtraining the angry ſpirit of theſe princes.[t] Her death looſened the only tie of union ſubſiſting between the two nations.

We have already noticed that a ſpirit of revolt had been excited in Wales, by thoſe chieftains who had attended Llewelyn into England. Other motives of a nearer and more eſſential concern, aſſiſted to fix that ſpirit more deeply. The Welſh, in the newly ſubdued country, early began to taſte, in the conduct of their new maſter, the bitter fruits of ſubmiſſion. It was the deſign of that prince, by one deciſive blow, to leave them not a trace of their ancient juriſprudence. When Edward heretofore poſſeſſed theſe countries by the grant of his father, he had thrown them into diſtricts, like thoſe of the counties of England; appointed ſheriffs with power to hold courts, inſtituted other officers, and ſent Engliſh judges to adminiſter juſtice. On the recent ſubmiſſion of the Welſh he revived theſe inſtitutions. To tear up old habits which are dear to a people,

[t] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Baker's Chron. p. 95.

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is often an enterpriſe of danger. The Welſh, as was natural, ſurveyed the deſign with indignation and horror. When laws are impoſed at the point of the ſword, they are always received with hatred, and muſt be maintained by force. Attached to the cuſtoms of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners, judges nor juries, nor any inſtitutions which were derived from the Engliſh.[s] It is ſtrange that a wiſe prince ſhould urge on ſo violent a conduct before the lenient power of time had ſoftened their ſpirits.

Llewelyn himſelf had cauſe to complain of injuries the moſt poignant and humiliating,[t] of which the following was one. There was a ſuit depending between him and Gryffydh ap Gwenwynwyn, reſpecting ſome lands held of the king, and lying in the marches. He was highly diſpleaſed with an order he had received from the judges, to attend the hearing of that ſuit at Montgomery, contrary to a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in Wales and in the marches, that all cauſes of this nature ſhould be tried on the very lands that were the ſubject of diſpute. The tenor of the late treaty, likewiſe, juſtified Llewelyn's refuſal. Though the judges ſent down were men of honour and integrity, he could not be prevailed on to go to Montgomery, thinking ſuch a meaſure would

[s] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 191, from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Roger Moſtyn, baronetti, p. 315.

[t] Welſh Chron. p. 346, &c. See Appendix, No. III.

 yield

yield up an essential article of the peace, and would derogate from the dignity of his character.[u]

The idea of this demand being in future drawn into precedent, awakened at last prince David to a sense of his own situation, who might hope to succeed to the sovereignty of what remained in Wales on the death of his brother. He had himself already experienced many causes of complaint, of fear, and of jealousy respecting the property he held under Edward.[x] He was sued by William Venables, an Englishman, before the justice of Chester, for the villages of Hope and Estyn, contrary to the custom of Wales, and the spirit of the agreement under which he held them of the English king. That officer likewise had cut down his woods of Lleweny, with those about Hope, and had sold the timber, and carried it into Ireland. He was also threatened, that when Reginald de Grey the other justiciary in those parts, came into the country, the castle of Hope should be taken from him, and his children secured as pledges of his fidelity in future.[y] Many chieftains, the most eminent in the country, had likewise much reason to complain of injuries which they themselves had received.[z] The rigorous exactions of the English officers in Wales, so repugnant to the manners of the people, heightened their sufferings to an insupportable degree.[a]

[u] Rymer, vol. II. p. 172. Leges Walliæ, p. 524. [x] See Appendix, No. IV.
[y] Welsh Chron. p. 350, 351. [z] Ibid. from p. 351 to 363.
[a] Math. Paris, p. 805. Welsh Chron. p. 336.

In

In this miserable ſtate of their country, the Welſh chieftains beſought prince David to be reconciled to his brother Llewelyn; calling on him by every incitement which could act on a brave or an angry ſpirit, to deſert the cauſe of a mercileſs ravager, to retrieve the honour he had loſt, to return to the duty he owed his country, and to ſhield her in the hour of her danger. The views of David at this time were agreeable to the wiſhes of his countrymen. Feeling, perhaps, remorſe for the miſeries he in ſome meaſure had occaſioned, or a ray of patriotiſm ſpringing up in his boſom, he conſented to be reconciled to his brother, and to engage in the common cauſe.[b] Senſible of the peril that awaited him, if ſucceſs did not juſtify the revolt, or, perhaps, from a want of confidence in his brother, he required of that prince an aſſurance that he would never ſerve again the Engliſh king, nor would ever relax in his enmity againſt him.[c] This being agreed to on the part of Llewelyn, prince David withdrew privately from the court of England, and came into Wales.[d]

The concert being made for a general inſurrection, David opened the campaign by a gallant exploit, performed late in the evening of Plam Sunday. In the night, which was dark and ſtormy, he took by ſurpriſe the caſtle of Hawarden, the governor of which, Roger de Clifford, who was Ann. Dom. 1281.

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 337. [c] Ibid.
[d] Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Polidore Vergil, p. 323.

alſo

alſo the juſticiary of Wales, was taken in his bed, and, mortally wounded, was carried away priſoner in chains to Snowdun; ſeveral knights reſiding in the fortreſs, though unarmed, in the fury of the ſtorm were put to the ſword. This action was the ſignal of revolt. The Welſh, riſing from every quarter, in a moment were in arms. The ſpirit of their fathers ſeemed to animate every boſom. Rhys ap Maelgwyn and Gryffydh ap Meredydh took the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, and over-ran the counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. Many chieftains, likewiſe, gained poſſeſſion of other fortreſſes in South Wales. Numerous parties of the Welſh, fired into enthuſiaſm, poured on a ſudden into the marches, ravaging the country as they ſpread along, and, with indiſcriminate rage, deſtroying all before them. Animated with the ſame ſpirit, Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, inveſted the new-erected caſtles of Flint and Rhuddlan, the only fortreſſes then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.[e]

At this time the king of England was at the Devizes, where he was keeping his Eaſter,[f] not ſuſpecting the event which had happened, nor fearing the efforts of a people, whoſe feelings had been urged into a dangerous extreme. The revolt of the Welſh princes determined the conduct of the

[e] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464 ſays, that they ſlew all the maſons, carpenters and other workmen employed in theſe fortreſſes.

[f] Thomas Wykes, p. 110. Holinſhead, p. 281.

English

Engliſh monarch. Inſtead of waiting the ſlow iſſue which time, or luxury, or mildneſs might produce, he once more determined to make an entire conqueſt of Wales, and totally to extinguiſh that ſpirit of freedom, which, riſing at times into dangerous exertion, not all the efforts of his policy and power had as yet been able to ſubdue. All other concerns were now laid aſide; the credit of Edward, his talents, and the ſtrength of his kingdom, were rendered ſubſervient to this great deſign.

Previous to his military operations he ſent a letter to the two archbiſhops, deſiring them to iſſue ſpiritual cenſures againſt the Welſh prince, and all his adherents.[g] John Peckham archbiſhop of Canterbury, before he proceeded to extremities, unknown to the king, and apparently in the true ſpirit of benevolence, undertook a journey into Wales, to endeavour to bring back Llewelyn, and the Welſh chieftains, to a ſenſe of their duty.[h]

In the mean time, Edward ſent a part of his forces to the relief of the beſieged caſtles; and he iſſued out orders that his military tenants ſhould aſſemble at Worceſter, on the ſeventeenth of May.[i] He obtained from the nobility

[g] Rymer, vol. II. p. 188.
[h] Polidore Vergil, p. 323. Holinſhead, p. 281. Welſh Chron. p. 358.
[i] Brady, vol. II. p. 6. Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Rymer, vol. II. p. 189.

and

and prelates a promiſe of a fifteenth of their moveables, and afterwards a thirtieth.[k] The clergy, likewiſe, gave him a twentieth of their temporalities, to enable him to carry on this popular war.[l] As theſe aids could not be raiſed ſo ſoon as the ſervice might require, he ſent to all the trading towns in England to borrow money to anſwer his preſent neceſſities; and deſired a like loan out of Ireland from the prelates, nobility, and merchants of that kingdom.[m] Such was the eſteem in which Edward was held, that Gaſton de Bern[n] deſired to have the honour of ſerving in the Welſh expedition; even the Scots, on this occaſion, offered their ſervices, little thinking that they themſelves would ſoon be the victims of that prince's ambition.[o] The barons of the exchequer, and the judges of the king's bench repaired to Shrewſbury, with orders to hold their courts in that place during the continuance of the war.[p] A nation like the Welſh, ſmall in extent, and ſcattered over a few barren mountains, riſe in importance as we view theſe mighty preparations.

As ſoon as he had concerted his meaſures, the king of England ſet out, the latter end of April, for the marches of Wales. Finding the war more difficult than he at firſt imagined, he iſſued out ſummonſes from Worceſter, that

[k] Brady, p. 11, 96. [l] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. p. 192, from Chron. Dunſtaple.
[m] Rymer, vol. II. p. 220. [n] Ibid. p. 206.
[o] Guthrie, vol. I. p. 895. [p] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235.

all

all his military tenants ſhould meet him at Rhuddlan in the enſuing month of June; the prelates of England, and twenty-four abbots holding of the crown, were alſo included in theſe orders to ſend thither their ſervices.[q]

In his march to Cheſter Edward was joined by the people inhabiting the Borders, whom he employed, as before, in opening roads through the enemies country.[r] After ſtaying a fortnight in Cheſter to refreſh his troops, about the middle of June he inveſted the caſtle of Hope, then in the poſſeſſion of David, which a little time after ſurrendered.[s] On the approach of Edward, the Welſh princes raiſed the ſiege of Rhuddlan caſtle, and retreated ſlowly towards Snowdun, thinking it more prudent to ſeiſe every opportunity of cutting off his detached parties, than with unequal force to fight him in the open field.[t] The retreat of Llewelyn, for the preſent, was of little advantage to the enemy; like that of a lion, it was ſlow, ſullen, and full of danger. Seiſing a favourable opportunity, he put to flight a large detachment of the Engliſh army; fourteen enſigns were taken in the action; the lords Audley, and Clifford the ſon of William de Valence, Richard de Argenton,[u] with many others were ſlain; and the king himſelf was obliged to retire for protection into Hope caſtle, the fortreſs he had lately taken.[x]

q Rymer, vol. II. p. 188, 199. r Ibid. p. 207.
s Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 193, from Annales Ceſtrenſis.
t Welſh Chron. p. 337. u Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110.
x Welſh Chron. p. 372, from Thomas Walſingham. Cambden's Brit. p. 688.

It was not till the latter end of autumn, that Edward was able to perform any action of moment. In the middle of July that prince resided in the castle of Rhuddlan, and issued orders from thence to the sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to send him, in proportion to the extent of each, a number of hatchet men, who were to cut down the woods, and open passages for his army before it could advance any farther with safety or convenience.[y] He also gave grants to several of the English barons, of lands in the four cantrevs, the late ceded country; adding the incitement of interest to the national zeal in his service.[z]

During these transactions the archbishop of Canterbury came a second time into Wales, and sent a monitory letter to Llewelyn and to all his adherents, in which he reproved them for their late revolt, urged them to return to their allegiance, and desired they would point out their grievances, for all of which, if just, he would endeavour to obtain them redress; at the same time holding out a menace, in case of contumacy, that they would draw on themselves the severest censures of the church, besides all the power of an irritated nation.[a] In answer to this letter, Llewelyn, assisted by his council, thought proper to send a memorial dated at Garth-

[y] Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 895.

[z] Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235. Welsh Chron. p. 364.

[a] J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Welsh Chron. p. 338—342. See Appendix, No. V.

Celyn

Celyn or Aber in Caernarvonſhire, in the latter end of October.[b] In a ſtrain of eloquence, mild and perſuaſive, which might do honour to a more poliſhed age, he recited the various evils which he himſelf and his country had ſuffered from Edward's ambition, and the rapine of delegated power, and with a firmneſs, ſoftened by piety and meekneſs, he demanded that juſtice, from the rights of nature, and the ſpirit of the treaties ſubſiſting, which the unjuſt conduct of the king of England had hitherto denied him.[c] The like memorials were ſent by David his brother, by the men of Rhos, by Rhys Vychan of Stratywy, by Llewelyn and Howel the ſons of Rhys, by the ſons of Meredydh ap Owen, the chieftains of Strat-Alyn, the men of Penlhyn, by Gronw ap Heilyn, and the nobles of Tegengl.[d] It was likewiſe declared by Llewelyn and his council, that if their grievances were redreſſed, their native laws and rights preſerved, and if their ſafety in future might depend on the tenor of the late treaty, they were ready to enter into a laſting peace with England.[e] There is a force in theſe recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expreſſive of the ſituation of the Welſh; all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of the treaty, and of the power of the *mighty* over the *weak*.

[b] See Appendix, No. VI. [c] Welſh Chron. p. 340—350.
[d] See Appendix, No. VII—XV. Welſh Chron. p. 350—364.
[e] Welſh Chron. p. 343, taken from the Records of Canterbury.

As

As soon as the princes had delivered these complaints to the archbishop, as a justification of their revolt, he returned to the king, and urged that prince to pay some regard to the complaints of the Welsh, to redress their wrongs, or at least, he desired, that the idea of their being justly founded might extenuate their faults. The answer returned by the English prince was, that though there was no excuse to be found for their conduct, yet he was still desirous of doing justice to their complaints. Availing himself of the mildness of this answer, the archbishop pressed the king that the complainants might have free access to his presence, to unfold their griefs, and to plead their own cause. The reply which Edward made was dark and evasive, and unworthy of so great a prince; he said, "they might freely come, and "depart, if it should appear, that in justice they ought "to return in safety."[f]

The archbishop on the strength of this answer, arbitrary as it was, and the deepest danger lurking within it, came back to the prince of Wales in Snowdun, in hopes of prevailing on him, by proper submission, to avail himself of what that prelate conceived to be, or wished to represent as the present gracious disposition of the king.[g] Llewelyn and his council were not caught in the snare that was laid for their safety. They clearly saw into the design of the English monarch. They saw, at this moment, all that was dear to men and to

[f] Welsh Chron. 363, 364. [g] Ibid. p. 364.

citizens

citizens at ſtake, their lives, their families, their country, its liberties and laws, with the cuſtoms of their fathers: they ſaw, too, that this was the criſis for manly reſiſtance.

Impressed with theſe ideas, it was not likely that any argument, deluſive or friendly, in the power of the archbiſhop to offer, could anſwer his views, or could ſhake the firmneſs of Llewelyn and his council. After much conference on the ſubject, he was ſent back to his maſter by the prince of Wales, with this manly and generous reply, "that, "as the guardian of his people's ſafety, his conſcience alone "ſhould direct his ſubmiſſion; nor would he conſent to "any compliance which might derogate from the dignity "of his ſtation." We eaſily conceive that the pride of Edward was wounded, and his indignation raiſed by an anſwer, ſo little expected, though ſo worthy of a patriot prince. On its being reported to the Engliſh king, he declared, "that no other terms in future ſhould be offered "than the entire unconditional ſubmiſſion of Llewelyn "and his people."[h]

The archbiſhop, knowing that the Welſh prince would not recede from the reſolution he had formed, interceded with the king, that he might have a conference on the ſubject, with the Engliſh noblemen then preſent in the army. Having little to fear from this line of negociation, Edward

[h] Welſh Chron. p. 364.

conſented

consented that a conference should be held, the result of which was, that three separate proposals should be sent to the Welsh prince, as the only basis on which any peace could be established.[i]

The prince of Wales, during this negociation, still remained in his palace at Aber, and the Welsh army, it is most probable, was stationed on the heights upon Penman-Mawr.[k]

The first of these proposals which was ordered to be read before the prince and the chieftains assembled in council, signified, that no treaty whatever could take place respecting the isle of Anglesey, the four cantrevs, and the lands given by the king to the English lords; that if the tenants of those cantrevs thought proper to submit to their sovereign, they should then be treated in a manner becoming the majesty of the king. In respect to Llewelyn, no terms whatever were offered to him, he was to yield himself up without any condition.[l]

The second proposal was made to Llewelyn in secret, and was no doubt intended as a snare to his honour.[m] It was

[i] Welsh Chron. p. 364.

[k] It was considered as the strongest fortification which the Welsh possessed in the mountains of Snowdun, and capable of containing 20000 men. See Cambden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 673.

[l] See Appendix, No. XVI., Welsh Chron. p. 364, 365. [m] Appendix, No. XVII.

proposed

proposed that the prince of Wales should throw himself on the mercy of Edward, and should quietly give up the possession of Snowdun; as a cordial, however, to be thrown into the bitter cup, they promised to prevail on the king, if possible, to provide for his daughter suitably to her station; to allow him one thousand pounds a year, and a respectable county in England. If that prince should happen to marry, and should have heirs male; they promise to entreat the king, that this annuity, and the said county, should be settled on those heirs for ever. That the king would also provide for the adherents of the Welsh prince in a manner suitable to their estates and conditions.[n]

The third proposal was ordered to be made to David, and to be read to him in secret.[o] If he would consent to take the cross, and go into the Holy Land, he should have a provision made for him agreeable to his quality; on the condition, however, that he never returned from thence unless he should be recalled; and as a farther inducement, they also promised to entreat the king to provide in a suitable manner for his child.[p]

The concessions expected from Llewelyn, the singular requisition made to prince David, and the general submission demanded from all, were enforced by the terror of eccle-

[n] Welsh Chron. p. 365. See Appendix. No. XVI.
[o] See Appendix, No. XVIII. [p] Welsh Chron. p. 366.

siastical

ſiaſtical cenſures; and in caſe of diſobedience, a menace was thrown out, that the Welſh nation ſhould be exterminated. Theſe terms, propoſed by an intereſted nobility, wanting the ſanction, though under the countenance of Edward, carry with them an illiberal and ſuſpicious aſpect.

It was not in the nature of Llewelyn, when the deareſt concerns of his people were mingled with his own, to entertain an idea of intereſt excluſive of theirs, or to engage with the common enemy in any ſecret or ſeparate negociation. The propoſals ſent by the archbiſhop, were openly diſcuſſed in the preſence of Llewelyn, of his brother, and of the chieftains who compoſed his council; the reſult of which was, that three different memorials ſhould be returned to that prelate, which would convey their ſentiments of the terms which had been offered; and would carry to the Engliſh monarch their laſt, ſolemn, and deciſive anſwer.

In a ſtile of ſimplicity that carries perſuaſion to the heart, the prince of Wales tells the archbiſhop,[q] that the terms he had brought, were neither honeſtly intended, nor could be ſafely confided in; that though he himſelf, through weakneſs or intereſt, ſhould be inclined to liſten to the ſeparate advantage propoſed, his people and the chieftains in Wales, aware of the miſchievous tendency, would refuſe their conſent; as not being bound to yield up their rights

[q] See Appendix, No. XIX.

to

to any mean compliance in their prince: He desires likewise, as the means of forming an honest and lasting peace, that the archbishop will have respect to the memorials which are now sent by himself and by his council: He says too, that it was more honourable to the king, as well as more agreeable to reason, that he should be allowed to remain in the lands of his fathers, than that his territories should be torn from him, and be given to strangers.[r]

WITH a force of reasoning which innocence alone could give,[s] the chieftains who formed the prince's council, declare, that no peace could be made, unless the four cantrevs were included *in the treaty*; as they had always belonged to the princes of Wales from the earliest period of their history, and were confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, and by the treaty with Henry the third. The tenants of those cantrevs declare, that they dare not submit to the king; as he had neither kept covenant, nor oath, grant, nor charter, with the prince, or with his people. Llewelyn's council tell the archbishop, that they themselves for these reasons, dare not come into the presence of the king; much less will they suffer their prince to risque his personal safety: They reject also the annuity of one thousand pounds, as being offered by men who had torn away his patrimony from Llewelyn, and were desirous of enjoying it themselves:

[r] Welsh Chron. p. 368. [s] See Appendix, No. XIX.

They ſay, it would be unbecoming their prince to relinquiſh that patrimony, and to take lands in England, unacquainted as he is with its laws and cuſtoms, its language and manners: That he muſt likewiſe hold thoſe lands, ſituated amidſt his enemies, on a very uncertain tenure: They add, that it is not likely, that the king, deſirous of taking from him his barren inheritance in Wales, would long allow him to enjoy the cultivated lands of England: They declare, they will not ſuffer their prince to give up to the king the poſſeſſion of Snowdun, appertaining to his ſovereignty from the earlieſt time, and meanly to take what might be thought an equivalent in England: The people of Snowdun, alſo, declare, that though their prince ſhould relinquiſh his rights, they themſelves will never do homage to ſtrangers, with whoſe habits of life they are entirely unacquainted; leſt they ſhould be as cruelly treated as the inhabitants of the cantrevs had been; a recital of whoſe injuries had been ſent to that prelate.[t] The ſpirit of a free conſtitution, in reſtraining the will of the ſovereign, runs through this ſpirited memorial.

There is ſomething peculiarly touching in the anſwer ſent by prince David.[u] He ſays, that when he feels himſelf diſpoſed to ſee the Holy Land, his motives ſhall be pure and voluntary, influenced by a ſpirit of piety, and

[t] Welſh Chron. p. 368, 369. See Appendix, No. XX. [u] Ibid. No. XXI.

not enforced by the arbitrary will of another. Devotion that is forced, he ſays, is diſpleaſing to God; and, if ever he undertakes ſuch a journey, his poſterity ſhould be rewarded for their father's piety, rather than, on that account, have their inheritance taken from them. It was not the Welſh, he ſays, who where the movers of the war; no luſt of avarice, no rage for conqueſt on their part began it; they only defended their own lands, their liberties and laws, againſt the avarice, the cruelty, and hatred of the Engliſh king and his people. For the truth of which, he ſolemnly appeals to God; calling on him to revenge their wrongs, and to vindicate their cauſe. He forbids the archbiſhop to fulminate his cenſures againſt any *but thoſe* who had cauſed theſe enormities; and as the Welſh had ſuffered ſuch evils at the hands of the king's officers, he hopes that they ſhall receive at *his* hands remedy and comfort. "Very many do marvel," ſays he, "that you do counſel us "to leave our own land, and go to other men's lands among "our enemies to live; for as we cannot have peace in our "own country, what reaſon have we to hope that we ſhall "remain in quiet in that of our enemies? Though it be "hard to live in war and danger, it is ſtill more hard," ſays he, "to be utterly deſtroyed, and be brought to nothing. "The fear of death, the fear of impriſonment, the fear of "having our eſtates torn from us; no keeping of promiſe, "covenant, grant, or charter, in ſhort, a moſt tyrannical "dominion, are among the many cauſes which urge us to "war.

"war." To the remedy of theſe evils he deſires of the archbiſhop his pious and charitable aid. He concludes this moving addreſs, by ſaying, "If any perſon in England offends "the king, his eſtate is not taken away; if one of our own "people ſhould commit a fault, let him be puniſhed agree-"ably to juſtice, but not entirely to his ruin. As we truſt "in you, we pray you, holy father, to labour to this end. "If they lay to our charge that it is we who have broke "the peace, it is evidently clear, from facts, that it is they "and not we that are in fault; they who never kept pro-"miſe, or covenant, or order, or made any ſatisfaction for "treſpaſſes, or remedy for our complaints."[x]

It is with pity and admiration we ſee a band of heroes and patriots ſtationed on the only mountain that was left them, thus calmly and with firmneſs aſſerting their rights, and making their laſt ſtruggle for freedom. The ſcene is ſolemn and intereſting, and preſents an image not unlike that of Leonidas in the Straits of Thermopylæ.

All conference was now at an end, the late negociation had clearly ſhewn that the ſentiments of the two powers were entirely incompatible. No longer purſuing, in the ſpirit of benevolence, the rights of this injured people, the

[x] Theſe memorials were taken from the Records of John Peckham archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was Edward's embaſſador on this occaſion. Welſh Chron. p. 371.

archbiſhop

archbiſhop pronounced them accurſed, and thundered againſt them the whole force of eccleſiaſtical judgments.[y]

During theſe tranſactions, the roads being opened, and his reinforcements arrived, Edward about the firſt of November left Rhuddlan,[z] and advanced as far as Conway; near which place he ſtationed his army in advantageous ſituations; his horſe were encamped on the plains which lay at the foot of Snowdun mountains, with a view of ſecuring the avenues of the country to the eaſt and to the ſouth; and the infantry were poſted on the ſides of the hills under cover of the woods.[a] The treaty being ended, and not able to bring the enemy to action, Edward ordered a ſtrong detachment of marines and other forces, in the veſſels of the Cinque Ports, to take poſſeſſion of Angleſey. The manœuvre was wiſely planned, the ſucceſs of which would not only deprive the Welſh of the advantage of that iſland, as a ſource of proviſions, but would alſo confine them in narrower limits; and by dividing their attention, facilitate his entrance into the country. This ſervice was performed with all imaginable ſucceſs; the iſland was eaſily taken; the chief perſons in it having ſided with Edward, agreeably to the oaths they had taken at the late peace.[b] With a view of getting poſſeſſion of

[y] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welſh Chron. p. 371.

[z] Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110.

[a] Polidore Vergil, p. 323. Holinſhead, p. 281.

[b] Welſh Chron. p. 371. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

of the mountains on the rear of the enemy, or forming a junction with the other part of the army, in the very heart of their country, preparations were made to paſs the water of Menai, which runs between Angleſey and the main land of Caernarvon.

There is a point of land, nearly oppoſite to Bangor, called Moel-y-donn, where the water is much narrower than in other parts of the Straits. From this place a bridge was formed of boats chained together, and boarded over, wide enough for ſixty men to march in front.[d] As ſoon as the Welſh ſaw the deſign of the Engliſh, they raiſed entrenchments, at ſome diſtance, on their ſide of the river, to check the enemies advance, and to ſecure the paſſes into their mountains.[e] Before the bridge was entirely finiſhed, a party of Engliſh and ſome Gaſcon lords, who, with a body of Spaniſh troops, were then in the ſervice of Edward, deſpiſing the Welſh for the eaſy conqueſt of Angleſey, paſſed over the Menai at low water, with a conſiderable force, to reconnoitre their works, or to give a diſplay of their own valour. Richard ap Walwyn, who commanded in theſe poſts, knowing that the tide would ſoon flow, and cut off the enemies retreat to the bridge, remained

[d] Welſh Chron. p. 372. Holinſhead, p. 281. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

[e] Carte, vol. I. p. 193.

quiet

quiet within his entrenchments, and neither oppoſed their paſſage, nor moleſted their advance up into the country.[f] As ſoon as the Menai began to riſe, ſo as to prevent any communication with the iſland, the Welſh in great multitudes ruſhed down from the mountains, aſſaulted the enemy with loud outcries, and drove them into the water of Menai, in which many were drowned, encumbered with the weight of their armour. Fifteen knights, thirty-two eſquires, and one thouſand common ſoldiers were ſlain, or periſhed in the water. Among others who fell in this day's diſaſter, were Lucas de Taney the leader of the foreign troops, William de Dodingeſeles, and William de la Zouch. The lord Latimer, who commanded the Engliſh in this detachment, had the good fortune to regain the bridge by the ſtoutneſs of his horſe.[g]

This diſaſter was a ſevere check to the views of Edward: his ſituation was now become critical, dangerous, and humiliating. Beſides the loſs he had ſuſtained, the winter was in advance: his two armies could have no communication by land; the deſign, likewiſe, of a diverſion was rendered impracticable. The Welſh, high in ſpirits, and maſters

[f] Welſh Chron. p. 372. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi.

[g] Holinſhead, p. 281, ſays that only two hundred foot ſoldiers periſhed. Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi. Welſh Chron. p. 372. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2464. Math. Weſtm. p. 176.

of

of the defiles, were ſtrongly entrenched on their mountains; the caſtle of Snowdun was filled with ſoldiers, and furniſhed with plenty of proviſions;[h] they had ſeen, too, that even Edward and his foreign troops, with all their ſtratagems of war, were not invincible. This ſucceſs they regarded as a preſage of future proſperity. Their hopes began to revive, and their views to extend, which were heightened ſtill more by a prophecy of Merlin, long cheriſhed among the Welſh, that Llewelyn ſhould one day wield the ſceptre of Brutus, the ſuppoſed founder of their empire.[i] It is poſſible, too, the Welſh prince, himſelf, might indulge the ſame hopes, from a like deluſive ſource, the prediction of a ſoothſayer. When he firſt began the revolt, he conſulted an aged woman, who was a reputed propheteſs reſpecting the iſſue of the war; who adviſed him to go boldly forwards, and aſſured him, in the end, he would ride through Cheapſide with a crown upon his head.[k]

In this ſtate of things, unable to advance, and too proud to relinquiſh the deſign, Edward retired to Rhuddlan.[l] From this place, on the twenty-fourth of November, he iſſued out ſummonſes to the ſheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the following effect. "Whereas Llewelyn, the ſon

[h] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Grafton's Chron. p. 165.

[i] Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9. Math. Weſtm. p. 176. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235.

[k] Holinſhead, p. 282. [l] Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

"of

" of Gryffydh, and other Welſhmen his accomplices, our " enemies and rebels, have ſo often, in the times of us " and our progenitors, diſturbed the peace of England, " and do ſtill continue in the ſame courſe; and for that, " by the advice of our great men, and the whole community " of the land, we propound finally to repreſs their rebellion " and inſtability, ſo as it ſhall not be in their power to " diſturb the peace of the nation when they pleaſe, although " that it ſeems to be a very great charge, and a moſt difficult " undertaking: We therefore command that you cauſe to " come before us on the twentieth of January, at North-" ampton, or before our commiſſioners, all thoſe of your " bailiwic that *have twenty pounds a year*, and upwards, " who are able and fit to bear arms, and who are not " preſent with us, in our expedition againſt the Welſh; " and four knights of each county, for the community of " the ſame counties, having full power from them; and " alſo of every city, borough, and market town, two men " for the commons of the ſame; to hear and do things, " which, on our behalf, we ſhall cauſe to be ſhewn unto " them." The like precept was ſent to the ſheriff of every county in England; with this difference only, that the people, ſo ordered by the writs of the counties of York, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaſter were to aſſemble at York. The clergy and prelates of England were alſo required to perform their ſervices, in

carrying on this neceſſary war.[m] The nature of this precept, and the warlike appointments ſo extenſive, mark the eager ſpirit of Edward, as well as the idea that prince entertained of the importance and difficulty of the enterpriſe. But an event happened ſoon after, ſudden and unforeſeen, which cloſed with glory the life of Llewelyn, and decided the fate of this nation.

The earl of Glouceſter, aſſiſted by Sir Edmund Mortimer, had been ſent with an army into South Wales, to reduce that country, and to check the ravages of Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffydh ap Meredydh, the two chiefs who had taken up arms in favour of Llewelyn, and had over-ran the counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. Theſe chieftains had been defeated by the earl of Glouceſter, near to Llandeilo-Vawr, with the loſs only on the enemies part, of five knights, and of William de Valence, couſin to the Engliſh monarch.[n]

The late ſucceſs of the Welſh, in the action of the Menai, had ſet on fire their enthuſiaſtic ſpirit; they conſidered it as a miracle which had been wrought in their favour. Confident, on the faith of the ancient prophecies, that, in the perſon of Llewelyn, the empire of their fathers

[m] Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

[n] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welſh Chron. p. 372. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 60.

ſhould

ſhould be reſtored, they urged that prince to act with intrepidity, to ſeiſe this fortunate moment, and to aſſault the Engliſh in their turn, ſeparated and diſpirited by the loſs they had lately ſuſtained.[o] Llewelyn thought this an enterpriſe of too much importance, to engage in it without farther reinforcements, which he was not without hopes of receiving, as he had entered into a large correſpondence with many of Edward's ſubjects in the marches, and in South Wales.[p] In hopes, by theſe means, of drawing together a great body of troops, to enable him to ſtrike ſo deciſive a blow, or by his preſence to animate his party, he determined to go into South Wales. Thinking the quarter of Snowdun ſafe for the winter, he left his brother David to guard the paſſes of thoſe mountains; and he himſelf, with a body of forces, marched to the aid of his friends in that country;[q] where, having over-ran the territories of Caerdigan, and Stratywy, he ravaged the lands of Rhys ap Meredydh.[r]

The king, as ſoon as he heard of the ſudden movement of the Welſh prince, ſent orders to Oliver de Dincham, and other noblemen in the weſt, to paſs over the mouth

[o] Math. Weſtm. p. 176. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9.

[p] Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 897.

[q] Ibid. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 235. Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Math. Weſtm. p. 176.

[r] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welſh Chron. p. 373.

of the Severn to Caermarthen, and give their ſupport to his generals in that country.[s]

Having ſo far ſucceeded in his enterpriſe, Llewelyn proceeded with his forces towards the cantrev of Buellt; where, by agreement, he was to hold a conference with ſome lords of that diſtrict.[t] As he had not any thing to fear from the ſouthern quarter, his only anxiety was to ſecure the chief paſs into the country, that no danger might come from the north. With this deſign, having poſted the main part of his army on the top of the mountain, near the water of Wy, he placed a body of troops at a bridge, called Pont Orewyn, which commanded the paſſage over that river.[u] Having thus ſecured himſelf, as he thought, from the ſudden attack of any enemy, the Welſh prince, unarmed, and attended by his eſquire alone, proceeded into the valley, where it had been agreed the conference ſhould be held.[x] There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the deſign was betrayed by the very lords whom Llewelyn had appointed to meet.[y] In a moment after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, at the head of a body of men who were natives of Buellt; the latter nobleman, or his father, being lord of that country.[z] The poſt was maintained with

[s] Rymer, vol. II. p. 223. [t] Welſh Chron. p. 373. [u] Holinſhead, p. 281.
[x] Henr. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464.
[y] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 59. Welſh Chron. p. 373. [z] Welſh Chron. p. 373.

ſuch

ſuch ſpirit by the Welſh, that the Engliſh lords were not able to make any impreſſion, until Elias Walwyn, who was probably a native of the country, decided the conteſt, by pointing out to the enemy a paſſage through the river, though ſomewhat dangerous, which lay below, at a little diſtance from the bridge.[a] A detachment was ſent under the conduct of Walwyn, to ford the river, and with ſome difficulty they made good their paſſage. Aſſaulted in the front and rear, the Welſh relinquiſhed their poſt, and the remainder of the Engliſh army paſſed over the bridge.[b]

The prince of Wales, all this time, was waiting in a ſmall grove, the place agreed on for the meeting of thoſe chieftains, with whom he was to hold the conference. On the enemies firſt aſſault his eſquire came to inform him, that he heard a great outcry at the bridge. The prince eagerly aſked if his people were in poſſeſſion of the bridge; and being told that they were, he calmly replied, "he then "would not ſtir from thence, though the whole power of "England was on the other ſide of the river." This confidence, not improperly placed, laſted only for a moment, the grove being in an inſtant ſurrounded by the enemies horſe.[c] Beſet on every ſide, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as ſecretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops he had ſtationed on the

[a] Holinſhead, p. 281. Welſh Chron. p. 373. [b] Ibid. [c] p. 374.

mountain;

mountain; who, drawn up in battle array, were eagerly expecting the return of their prince. In making this attempt, he was discovered, and closely pursued by Adam de Francton, who, perceiving him to be a Welshman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his spear into the body of the Prince, being unarmed and incapable of defence.[d] This being done, regardless of the person he had wounded, Francton instantly joined his own party then ascending the mountain to dislodge the enemy from their post.[e] The Welsh, on this occasion, were steady, and acted with great spirit; neither animated by the presence of their prince, nor dispirited by a knowledge of his fate. They poured on their enemies, as they advanced up the mountain, a shower of arrows and darts; but the English having placed bodies of archers in the intervals of their horse, annoyed them in their turn, and at length gained the summit;[f] the action continued doubtful for more than three hours, and was maintained on both sides with great resolution and valour,[g] till at length the Welsh were obliged to give way, were entirely defeated, and left two thousand men,[h] a third of their number,
Ann. Dom. 1281. dead on the field. This action happened on the tenth of December.[i]

[d] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 60. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinshead, p. 281.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinshead, p. 281.

[g] Polidore Vergil, p. 324.

[h] Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 194, from Chron. Dunstaple.

[i] Polidore Vergil, p. 324.

ALL

All this time Llewelyn had lain on the ground, faint and almoſt expiring. He had juſt life enough remaining to aſk for a prieſt. A white friar, who chanced to be preſent, adminiſtered to the dying prince the laſt duties of his office.[k]

The hurry of the action being ended, Adam de Francton, now at leiſure, came back to ſtrip the perſon he had wounded. On viewing the body, which was ſtill breathing, it was found, to the great joy of the Engliſh army, that it was no other than the prince of Wales.[l] Upon ſtripping Llewelyn, there were found in his trouſers his privy ſeal, and a paper that was filled with dark expreſſions, and a liſt of names written in a kind of cypher; a letter or two was diſcovered at the ſame time, all of which evidently proved he had engaged in a confederacy with ſeveral lords, who were Edward's ſubjects in the marches.[m] A tranſcript of theſe was ſent by Mortimer to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, then in Pembrokeſhire, who tranſmitted them immediately to the king, as a neceſſary precaution to guard againſt their deſigns; but that prince thought it not prudent to make any inquiries, being deſirous of not adding to a flame, which he thought muſt now die away of itſelf.[n] No ſooner had Llewelyn expired, than his head was cut off by Adam

[k] Rymer, vol. II. 224.

[l] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Guthrie's Hiſt. Eng. p. 897. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

[m] Rymer, vol. II. p. 224. [n] Ibid.

de

de Francton; and, as a gift of high value, was presented to the king, at this time residing in the abbey of Conway.[o] The body of the prince lay unburied for some time; though his friends were very solicitous that it might be interred in consecrated ground. The lady Matilda Longespee also, among others, interested herself for a decent interment. This indulgence, small as it was, was not allowed, until he had received absolution from the archbishop, on the assurance that Llewelyn had shewn signs of penitence, by having desired the assistance of a priest in his last moments.[p]

THUS died Llewelyn ap Gryffydh, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving only one daughter.[q] The historians of the times are silent respecting the character, or the personal qualities of this prince. Instead, therefore, of reciting the virtues of Llewelyn, highly marked in the conduct of his life, or regretting his rival's ambition, it is our wish to draw a vail over the melancholy scene. Gratitude could pay no tribute to his memory so expressive, as the tears which his country shed upon the tomb of their fallen prince.

[o] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

[p] Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

[q] It appears, that the daughter of Llewelyn, and the daughter of his brother David, were confined in a nunnery; as an order was sent, on the death of their parents, seven years after, by king Edward to Thomas de Normanville, to inquire minutely into the state and safe custody of the said princesses. Rymer, vol. II. p. 429.

An

An elegy composed by a Bard who lived in his court, in wild and in pathetic notes, and with a seemingly prophetic spirit, finely expresses their sorrow and despair. "The "voice of lamentation is heard in every place, as heretofore "in Camlan.[r] The copious tears stream down every cheek; "for Cambria's defence, Cambria's munificent lord is "fallen.—Oh Llewelyn, the loss of *thee* is the loss of all. "At the thought of *thee* horror chills my blood, exhausts "my spirits, and consumes my flesh.—Behold how the "course of nature is changed! How the trees of the forest "furiously rush against each other!—See how the ocean "deluges the earth! How the sun deviates from his "course! How the planets start from their orbits!—Say "ye thoughtless mortals, do not these things portend the "dissolution of nature?—And let it be dissolved.—Let kind "heaven hasten the great catastrophe.—Let a speedy end "be put to the incurable anguish of our spirits: since "now there is no place to which we, miserable men, may "flee: no spot where we can securely dwell: no friendly "counsel: no safe retreat: no way by which we can escape "our unhappy doom."[s]

[r] The place where the great Arthur was slain.

[s] Gryffydd ap yr gnad Côch wrote the poem from which this passage is extracted; and if it were possible for a translation to transfuse half the excellence of the original, it would shew that the Bard was equally inspired with the true spirit of poetry, as affected with the fate of his beloved prince.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID AP GRYFFYDH TO THE ENTIRE CONQUEST OF WALES, AND THE DEPARTURE OF EDWARD OUT OF THAT COUNTRY.

THE closing scene of the last book presented an affecting spectacle. We there saw a brave and generous prince, after many efforts to preserve the freedom of his country, falling in the conflict, and finding an honourable grave in its ruins.

As soon as the head of Llewelyn was brought by Adam de Francton to the king, that prince sent it to London; and that he might feast the eyes of his subjects with a novel and savage spectacle, it was ornamented with a silver circle[a] and placed on the pillory[b] in Cheapside; in ridicule of the prophecy of Merlin, that Llewelyn should

[a] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464. [b] Guthrie, vol. I. p. 897.

one day wear the crown of Brutus. In contempt alſo of the late prediction of the ſoothſayer, that this prince ſhould ride through Cheapſide crowned with a ſilver diadem,[c] his head was encircled with a wreath of ivy;[d] and carried through the ſtreets, by a horſeman, fixed on the top of a ſpear; it was then placed on the higheſt turret in the tower of London, where it continued for a long time.[e] To inſult the remains of a fallen enemy, and a ſovereign prince, by devices which were mean and vindictive, and more ſuited to the leader of a tribe of Arabs than a great monarch, denotes a ſpirit in Edward little ſoftened by civilized manners.

The late prince, as the central ſpring, had drawn into one point the ſtrength of the nation, had directed its movements, and had given them energy and force; the ſpring being broken, all the parts became diſunited, without ſpirit or motion. There is a palſy which for a moment ſeiſes on the mind, when the hand of affliction ſtrikes deep, and the blow comes unexpected. Before the Welſh had time to emerge out of the ſtate of inſenſibility into which they had been thrown by the death of Llewelyn, the king of England ordered his forces to make a farther advance, and to beſet them more cloſely on every ſide. His own army inveſted Snowdun on the ſide of Conway;[f]

[c] Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2465. [d] Math. Weſtm. p. 176.
[e] Holinſhead, p. 281. [f] Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Holinſhead, p. 282.

his

his troops in Anglesey, not having hitherto dared to make good their passage over the Menai, had now leisure to finish the bridge, and to penetrate the country on the side of Caernarvon;[g] a body of forces, also, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, completed the investiture on the quarter towards South Wales.[h]

David, all this time, in possession of the castles and strong holds of the country, not chusing to risque a general engagement, kept quiet within his posts. Regarding himself as the sovereign of North Wales, on the death of his brother, he summoned the chieftains, his subjects, to meet him at Dinebeht, where he intended to hold a consultation on public affairs at this dangerous crisis. He afterwards renewed hostilities against the English, and seemed fully determined to vindicate his rights.[i] There was a fortress, called the castle of Bere, very strong by art and nature, which was situated in Snowdun, in the midst of a morass, accessible only by a single causeway, and not to be approached but through rugged and narrow defiles. This fortress David had provided with a strong garrison.[k] But so dis-

[g] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 59. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

[h] Carte, vol. II. p. 194. from Chr. Dunstaple, Ann. Cestrensis.

[i] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

[k] This fortress was probably the castle which is situated on the Lake of Llan Beris, the ruins of which still remain, and is called Castell Dolbadarn. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

pirited

pirited were the Welſh by the death of their prince, that even this caſtle was ſurrendered to the king, after it had been cloſely inveſted for ſome time.[l] No farther reſiſtance was made; every other fortreſs was immediately yielded up.[m] The Welſh, confounded and in diſmay, fled on every ſide, to ſhelter themſelves in caves, within the receſſes of rocks, and in the deep woods of their country.[n]

The paſſes being now left unguarded, Edward poſted his horſe at the foot of the hills; and leaving in each defile a body of troops to cut off the enemy as they attempted to eſcape, he himſelf, with the reſt of his army, penetrated the receſſes

Ann. Dom. 1283. of the mountains. In this ſervice he was much aſſiſted by the foreign troops in his army,[o] who, having been accuſtomed to ſerve in a mountainous country, advanced with great facility, ſet fire to the houſes, and ſlew great numbers of the Welſh, diſcovered in the places in which they were concealed, or flying to ſuch places for ſhelter.[p]

The people who inhabited the Snowdun mountains being now entirely ſubdued, Edward collected his army, and ſpread over the more level parts of the country, of which he eaſily made himſelf maſter; and the miſerable natives, in deſpair

[l] Holinſhead, p. 282. [m] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Math. Weſtm. p. 176. Carte, p. 194, from Chr. Dunſtaple, and Annales Ceſtrenſis, p. 282.
[n] Polidore Vergil, 324. Holinſhead, p. 282.
[o] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. [p] Polidore Vergil, p. 324. Holinſhead, p. 282.

and

and unresisting, were slaughtered without mercy. More than three thousand perished in the carnage.[q] Prince David, unable to make any resistance, was carried along the torrent which desolated his country; and he was obliged to conceal himself and his family in woods and bogs, and in other places of security.[r] He remained for some months in this situation, almost famished for want of provisions; during which time, urged by strong necessity, he frequently issued out to make depredations.[s]

The country being thus subdued, as a check to any future incursions of the Welsh, Edward erected the castle of Conway,[t] on the site of the ancient monastery, the religious of which, a society of white monks, he removed to an abbey which he founded at Maenan near Llanrwst, and whom he afterwards transplanted to Vale Royal in Cheshire, where he built an abbey of the Cistercian order.[u]

In this state of consternation, all union having been dissolved by the conquest of their country, the Welsh no longer resisted the incitements which were offered to private advantage, or to personal safety. It was therefore an easy matter for Edward to corrupt some of David's retainers.

[q] Holinshead, p. 282. Polidore Vergil, p. 324.

[r] Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

[s] Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238. Carte, from Annales Cestrensis. Chron. Dunstaple, p. 104.

[t] Math. Westm. p. 177. [u] Holinshead, p. 282.

These

Theſe are ſuppoſed to be Eneon ap Ivor, and Gronw ap David, with their ſons, who, in the night of the twenty-firſt of June, ſurpriſed David and his family in a Moraſs, into which they had fled for ſecurity.[x] That prince, and his wife, his two ſons and ſeven daughters[y] were brought priſoners to Rhuddlan caſtle, where the king then reſided.[z] When he was taken, a relic was found on him, called the Croſſeneych,[a] or part of the real croſs, highly venerated by the princes of Wales, and which was delivered to the king, with other relics, by the above-mentioned chieftains.[b] David requeſted he might be admitted into the king's preſence. This indulgence was denied him.[c] Inflexible in the deſign he meditated, Edward refuſed his repeated ſolicitations, not chuſing, perhaps, that his own firmneſs ſhould be put to the teſt, which the recollection of former intercourſe might ſoften; or leſt he ſhould be melted into pity at the ſight of a captive prince, who had fallen in the nobleſt cauſe, in defending the rights of his country. The Welſh

[x] Rymer, vol. II. p. 247. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238. T. Wyke, p. 111.

[y] It is probable that all theſe children were illegitimate, excepting one.

[z] Math. Weſtm. p. 177. Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 112, ſays only his wife and two ſons. Holinſhead, p. 282.

[a] This relic, St. Neots had brought into Wales from the Holy Land, and was voluntarily delivered up to the king by a ſecretary of the late prince of Wales. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 202.

[b] Beſides the above relic, the crown of the celebrated king Arthur, with many precious jewels, were about this time preſented to Edward. See Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238. Rymer, vol. II. p. 247.

[c] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

prince

prince was confined in Rhuddlan caſtle, and ſoon after ſent in chains to Shrewſbury.[d] On the captivity of David, Rhys Vychan, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, ſurrendered himſelf and his followers to the earl of Hereford, who delivered them up to the king, by whoſe orders Rhys was ſent to London, and loaded with chains, was impriſoned in the tower.[e] All the other chieftains following his example, yielded up their caſtles, and ſubmitted to Edward.[f] One victim remained to feel the weight of Edward's ſevereſt vengeance.

As David had been made a baron of the realm, Edward determined to proceed againſt him as a ſubject of England. With this view, he ſummoned eleven earls and one hundred barons, to open the proceſs at Shrewſbury on the thirtieth of September, and to ſit in judgment at his trial, the king himſelf preſiding in perſon.[g] By this court the prince was doomed to die as a traitor;[h] a ſenſe of intereſt, and the deſire of pleaſing their ſovereign, influenced the deciſion of the judges, and ſilenced the claims of humanity and juſtice. There was ſomething ſingular in the ſentence pronounced againſt

[d] J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[e] Wyke, p. 111. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

[f] Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. J. Roſſi. p. 166.

[g] Rymer, vol. II. p. 247, 248. Math. Weſtm. p. 177. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[h] Wyke, p. 111. Math. Weſtm. p. 177. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

him by John de Vaus[i] the chief juſtice of England. He was condemned to five different kinds of puniſhment. To be drawn at the tails of horſes through the ſtreets of Shrewſbury to the place of execution, becauſe he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. To be hanged, for having murdered Fulk Trigald, and other knights in the caſtle of Harwarden. His heart and bowels to be burned, becauſe thoſe murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom,[k] becauſe he had conſpired the death of the king in ſeveral places of England.[l] This ſentence, cruel in the extreme, the rigour of which had refined into novelty, was executed on David in all its ſeverity. To feaſt ſtill more the eyes of the people, his head was ſent to the tower

Ann. Dom. 1283. of London, and being fixed on a pole, was placed oppoſite to that of his brother Llewelyn.[m] Every generous idea, and delicate ſentiment, ſeem to have been extinguiſhed in national hatred, and in the frenzy of joy which had ſeiſed on the Engliſh.

[i] Guth. Hiſt. England, p. 898.

[k] Such was the pleaſure which the death of David gave the Engliſh, that the citizens of York and Wincheſter contended, with a ſavage eagerneſs, for the right ſhoulder of this unfortunate prince. At length, that honour was decided in favour of Wincheſter; and the remaining quarters were ſent, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to the cities of York and Briſtol, and to the town of Northampton. See Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

[l] Carte, p. 195. from Chron. Dunſtaple.

[m] Math. Weſtm. p. 177. T. Wyke, p. 111. J. Roſſi. p. 166. Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238.

THE

The death of David closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire; an empire, which through various changes of fortune, had resisted the arms of imperial Rome, and, for more than eight hundred years, had resisted the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

The fall of nations, distinguished only by misfortunes, or only illustrious for conquests, may raise for a moment a sigh of pity, or a transient emotion of applause. But a people like the Welsh, satisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal contest, in defence of their native rights, with no other resources than valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will be entitled to a tribute of admiration and esteem, as long as manly sentiment and the love of freedom shall remain.

EDWARD having at length reached the point of his ambition, in the entire conquest of Wales, annexed that country to the crown of England. As the leading principle in the politics of Edward, we have seen him pursue this object, with that vehemency of spirit, and unremitting ardour, which so highly distinguished his character. The features of this king, we confess, have hitherto appeared harsh, severe, and disgusting; but then we have only seen them at the moment, when they were inflamed with anger, or roughened by opposition. The

conteſt being ended, and the Welſh no longer reſiſting his power, the violence of his ſpirit began to ſubſide; and, except a few ſtarts into natural fierceneſs, we ſhall ſee him in future, with a milder influence, bringing into action the great talents he really poſſeſſed.

To ſecure the obedience of the newly ſubdued country, and to fix its government on the ſolid baſis of equal laws, and the participation of common rights, he introduced into it the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence.[n] He divided North Wales into counties; appointed ſheriffs, coroners, and other officers in each;[o] the county courts to be held once a month, and thoſe of the ſheriffs twice in the year; he ſettled alſo the forms of writs, with the methods to be uſed in law proceedings, which were to be carried on and decided within the principality, it being expreſſly provided that the Welſh ſhould not be ſued for debts and treſpaſſes in any town of England:[p] with this deſign Edward took up his reſidence at the caſtle of Rhuddlan, where he inſtituted a body of laws under the title of the Statute of Rhuddlan.[q] From hence he iſſued out a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales, that he would receive them under his protection; giving them, at the ſame time, aſſurances

Ann. Dom. 1284.

[n] Brady, vol. II. p. 11. Math. Weſtm. 177.

[o] Baker's Chron. p. 101. J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166.

[p] Leges Walliæ, p. 531—536. Appendix.

[q] Ibid. p. 542. Welſh Chron. p. 376.

of enjoying their lands, liberties, and properties, and that they ſhould hold them under the ſame tenures as they had heretofore held them under their native princes.[r] This liberal offer was carried into execution. The king reſerving to himſelf only the ſame rents, duties, and ſervices, which had always belonged to the princes of Wales. Inquiſitions were made into theſe rights by an order of the king[s]; their particular nature was aſcertained, and determined by the verdicts of juries compoſed entirely of Welſhmen. The rents paid by the inhabitants of Angleſey were much reduced; they had yielded one thouſand marks annually to Llewelyn, but only paid afterwards four hundred and fifty pounds a year to the Engliſh princes.[s]

THE archbiſhop of Canterbury came at this time into Wales, with a view of conciliating the minds of the Welſh clergy, by redreſſing their grievances, and by repairing the churches which had been damaged in the late diſorder of the times.[t] Edward had already built a fortreſs at Conway;

[r] This valuable memoir, beſides being the hiſtory of a private family, not only deduces with greater accuracy the pedigrees of ſeveral of their princes, but, likewiſe, illuſtrates the manners of the Welſh, as well as the miſerable ſituation of that people, during the dark period which ſucceeded the conqueſt. This work was written by Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, a native of Meirionedh, and deſcended from the Royal Houſe of North Wales. The world is indebted for its publication, and the ingenious notes annexed to the work, to the learned and judicious antiquary, the Hon. Daines Barrington. See Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 33.

[s] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 196.

[t] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welſh Chron. p. 374.

and

and as a farther check to any insurrections which might arise in the quarter of Snowdun, he erected the castle of Caernarvon, supplying each of those fortresses with strong garrisons.[u] With the same view of curbing the Welsh, and as a reward to the nobility who had served him in the war, he gave the lordship of Denbigh to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln; and the lordship of Ruthin to the lord Reginald Gray; he gave lands, likewise, to many of the other English barons.[x] He erected Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwith, and other towns into corporations, granting them great privileges, to encourage trade, and to draw the Welsh from their mountains into a more sociable manner of living. He would likewise have removed the See of St. Asaph to Rhuddlan, if he could have obtained the Pope's consent.[y]

THE sudden introduction of English customs into Wales, though softened by a liberal spirit and lenient measures, was not likely to suit the inclinations of a people, sore with injuries, and highly incensed at the late transactions. An event followed soon after, which had no tendency to soothe the spirits of the Welsh, nor conciliate their affections.

AMONG other causes of that ardour with which this people had so long maintained their independence, the

[u] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

[x] Welsh Chron. p. 377. [y] Carte, vol. I. p. 196.

English

English king muſt have known that the Bards had been the principal. To ſilence that voice which might revive ancient ideas, and rekindle in the Welſh their native ſpirit, Edward commanded that all the bards in Wales ſhould be hanged by martial law, under pretence that they had incited the people to ſedition. This edict, more cruel than the proſcriptions of the Roman triumvirate, continued in all its rigour to the end of the reign of Henry the fourth;[z] during which period, intereſt and hatred conſpiring its ruin, this ancient and celebrated order was nearly annihilated.[a] In this buſineſs, however, no claim to originality is due to Edward. Philip of Macedon, when treating with the Athenian ſtate, demanded as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, ſhould be delivered into his hands. An impartial recital of events, is a juſtice which we owe to truth, and to the manes of an injured people.

IT may not be improper, at this period, to open to the reader a ſhort hiſtory of the Bards; a race of men, who poſſeſſed, for many ages, ſo great an influence over the genius of the Welſh, inſpiring them with hoſpitable manners, and with the ſentiments of freedom and of glory.

THE bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high eſtimation. Mankind have

[z] Statutes at large, 4 Henry IV. Cap. 27. [a] Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 62.

been

been early led to poetical compofitions. Agreeable founds would ftrike at firft every ear, but poetry was neceffary to give thofe founds a lafting effect. Verfe was made ufe of to preferve the memory of remarkable events and great actions. The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were alfo recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boaft of a Homer, a Hefiod, and of many other poets, feveral ages before an hiftorian had written in profe. Among the Gauls alfo, and other Celtic nations, there were poems compofed on various fubjects from the earlieft ages.[b]

It is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdh*, unlefs derived from *bâr*, which fignifies *fury*; and, no doubt, has fome analogy to that poetic fury, or enthufiafm, with which the poets fancied themfelves, or might feign to be infpired.[c] Diodorus Siculus is the firft author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards, as compofers of verfes; which they fung to the harp and other inftruments of mufic; celebrating the praifes of heroes, or chaftifing vicious characters with fatirical invectives.[d] Ammianus Marcellinus fays, it was the province of the bards to fing, in heroic verfe fet to mufical notes of the harp, the atchievements of illuftrious men. There is a

[b] Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 384.

[c] Baxter's Gloffary, p. 34. Evan Evans Differtatio de Bardis. [d] Ibid.

paffage

paſſage of Poſſidonius, cited by Athenæus, which deſcribes the Celtic princes going to war, having bards in their train; who celebrated the praiſes of their chieftains in verſe, which they ſung to the people.[e]

Great reſpect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards, as they not only publiſhed their renown to the world, but conſigned their fame to poſterity. It is ſaid, that this order of men were never guilty of flattery, and never laviſhed their praiſes on heroes, or even on kings themſelves, unleſs deſerved by their gallant exploits.[f]

Though the order of the bards was common to the Celtic nations, no veſtige of them remains but among the Welſh, the Iriſh, and the ancient Caledonians.

On the invaſion of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the Britiſh empire, many poetical compoſitions were deſtroyed, with other ancient records; hence the writings of the bards, and thoſe of the early hiſtorians are exceedingly ſcarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of prince Merfyn, is the firſt of our Britiſh hiſtorians, who mentions the bards. He ſays, that Talhaiarn was famous for poetry,

[e] Evan Evans Diſertatio de Bardis. J. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 5.

[f] Mallet, vol. I. p. 384.

that Aneurin, and Taliefin, Llywarch-hen and Cian, flourifhed at the fame period. Of thefe bards, the works only of three are extant; thofe of Aneurin, of Taliefin, and Llywarch-hen.[g] The writings of the other bards being loft, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praife, who afferts, that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius.[h] The poems which are extant contain many things deferving of notice, and throw a great light upon the hiftorical events of that age. At the fame time they are difficult to be underftood, owing in part to the careleffnefs of tranfcribers, and in part to the language itfelf, become obfolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable diftinction of Mychdeirn-Beirdh, or monarch of the bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle againft the Saxons. Taliefin, called likewife Pen-Beirdh, or the prince of the bards, refided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedh, and Urien Reged prince of Cumberland.[i] Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinfman to the laft mentioned prince, was himfelf a fovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had paffed his youthful days in the court of king Arthur.[k] There are extant fome manufcript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was

[g] Evans Difertatio de Bardis.

[h] J. Lelandi Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 4.

[i] Evan Evans Difertatio de Bardis.

[k] Mufical and Poetical Relics by Jones, p. 6.

driven

driven by the Saxons into Powis, that he had twenty-four ſons, all of whom were diſtinguiſhed by golden torqueſes, and that they all died in defence of their country. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, there were other bards who flouriſhed during this period, the moſt eminent of whom was Merddin Wyllt, who compoſed a poem called Afallenau or the Orchard.[l]

FROM the ſixth to the tenth century it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devaſtations of war, and to the civil diſſentions among the Welſh.

SUCH was the reſpect in which the bards were held, that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dha, that whoever ſhould ſtrike any one of this order muſt compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was neceſſary to be paid to any other perſon of the ſame degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an aſſembly of the princes and chieftains of the country; in which they were aſſigned precedence, and emolument ſuitable to their merit; but the bard moſt highly diſtinguiſhed for his talents was ſolemnly chaired, and had likewiſe a badge given him of a ſilver chair.[m] This congreſs of the bards was uſually held at the three royal reſidences

l Evan Evans Diſertatio de Bardis.

m Evan Evans Diſertatio de Bardis.

of the princes of Wales; the ſovereign himſelf preſiding in that aſſembly.[n]

There were three different claſſes of this order in Wales. The firſt was called Beirdhs, and were the compoſers of verſes and odes in various meaſures; it was neceſſary that theſe ſhould poſſeſs a genius for poetry, and that genius tinctured with a high degree of enthuſiaſm. They were likewiſe the recorders of the arms of the Welſh gentry, and the grand repoſitories of the genealogies of families. This claſs was accounted the moſt honourable, and was high in the public eſtimation. The ſecond claſs, called Minſtrels, were performers upon inſtruments, chiefly the harp and the crwth.[o] The third were they who ſung to thoſe inſtruments, and were called Datgeiniaid.[p]

In the reign of Gryffydh ap Cynan, a law was enacted to aſcertain the privileges of the bards and minſtrels, and to reſtrain their licentious manners. This ſtatute preſcribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the perſons on whom ſuch emoluments were impoſed. It was likewiſe enacted, that neither the bards nor the minſtrels ſhould lead the lives of vagabonds, nor ſing verſes in houſes of public

[n] Jones's Muſical Remains, p. 14.

[o] The muſical inſtruments in uſe among the Welſh were the telyn or harp, the crwth or crowd, the pibgorn or pipe, the tabwrdd or tabret, and the corn buelin, cornet or bugle horn. See Jones's Muſical Remains, p. 41.

[p] Welſh Chron. p. 192.

reſort;

resort; that they should not be intoxicated with liquor, or be quarrelsome persons, or be addicted to women; and that they should neither be thieves themselves, nor be the companions of such; they were prohibited likewise from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person, without the licence of the parties concerned. If a bard or a minstrel should violate these restraints on their conduct, by a singular and unexampled severity, every man was made an officer of justice, and was authorised not only to arrest and to punish discretionally, but to seise on whatever property the offender had about him. This statute, the severity of which in some degree points out its necessity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the order.[q]

From this time, under the auspicious protection of the Welsh princes, many excellent bards arose. Meilir, who was the bard of Gryffydh ap Cynan, was also employed in a military character, and was sent by that prince to transact a negociation in England. Gwalchmai the son of Meilir, in a poem entitled Gorhoffedd, glories that he had defended the marches of Wales against the English. Cynddelw Brydydd-Mawr, or Cynddelw the Great Bard, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powis.

q Welsh Chron. p. 192.

From

From the time of Owen Gwynedh, to the death of that great prince the laſt Llewelyn, ſeveral bards flouriſhed of diſtinguiſhed talents; the moſt eminent of whom was Llywarch-Prydydh-y-Moch, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of Llewelyn the Great; likewiſe Dafydh Penfras, Daniel ap Lloſgwrn Mew, and Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward. Cotemporary with theſe flouriſhed Philip Brydydh, who was an eminent bard in Cardigan.[r]

The talents of the Welſh bards were not employed ſolely in the praiſe of heroes and of illuſtrious actions, or in aſcertaining the genealogies of families.[s] They alſo in plaintive numbers mourned over the tomb of the fallen warrior.

We offer to the reader, as a ſpecimen of this kind of poetry, the following tranſlation of an Elegy which was written by Llywarch-hen, a Britiſh bard of the ſixth century, on the death of Cynddylan prince of Powis.

[r] About the year 1176 Rhys ap Gryffydh of South Wales made a great feaſt in the caſtle of Aberteivi during the Chriſtmas holy days, which feaſt he had cauſed to be proclaimed throughout Britain a long time before. Agreeably to this invitation, many ſtrangers reſorted to his caſtle, and were entertained by him with much honour and courteſy. Beſides deeds of arms, and other amuſements, Rhys had cauſed all the bards in Wales to repair to the meeting; and placing them on chairs in the hall of the caſtle, he ordered them to exerciſe their ſeveral talents in oppoſition to each other, appointing great rewards to thoſe who excelled in their ſeveral profeſſions. In this conteſt, the bards of North Wales carried away the prize, and the muſicians of Rhys's own houſehold were adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony. See Welſh Chron. p. 237.

[s] J. Lelandi Comm. de Scriptoribus Britann. p. 5.

Come

Come forth, and see, ye Cambrian dames,
Fair Pengwern's [t] royal roofs in flames!
The foe the fatal dart hath flung
(The foe that speaks a barb'rous tongue,)
And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head,
And stretch'd your champion with the dead.
His heart, which late, with martial fire,
Bade his lov'd country's foes expire
(Such fire as wastes the forest hill)
Now like the winter's ice is chill.

O'er the pale corse with boding cries
Sad Argoed's [u] cruel eagle flies;
He flies exulting o'er the plain,
And scents the blood of heroes slain.
Dire bird! this night my frighted ear
Thy loud, ill-omen'd voice shall hear:
I know thy cry, that screams for food,
And thirsts to drink Cynddylan's blood.

No more the mansion of delight,
Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night;
Nor more the midnight hour prolongs
With fires, and lamps, and festive songs.
Its trembling bards afflicted shun
The hall, bereav'd of Cyndrwyn's son.[x]

[t] Now Shrewsbury, then the chief residence of the princes of Powis.

[u] The ancient name of Powis.

[x] Cynddylan was the son of Cyndrwyn.

Its

Its joyous visitants are fled;
Its hospitable fires are dead:
No longer, rang'd on either hand
Its dormitory, couches stand:
But all above, around, below,
Dread sights, dire sounds, and shrieks of woe.

Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan slain,
And pour the weak, desponding strain;
Awhile I'll soothe my troubled breast:
Then, in eternal silence rest.[y]

Tyranny having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of Edward, in the massacre of the bards, that ancient seat of freedom and of poetry, was for a long time deprived of the exercise of their talents.

During the spirited, and for a time the prosperous insurrection of Owen Glendwrdwy, the muses again appeared in the country; encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon liberty. Among the number of those bards who appeared at the court of Glendwrdwy, was Jolo Goch,

[y] This Elegy was translated into English verse by the Rev. John Walters master of Ruthin school, and late fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, to whose elegant taste and judicious knowledge of the Welsh laws the author has been much indebted. The like acknowledgement is due to the Rev. John Lloyd rector of Caerwaes, from whose friendly attentions this work has received very considerable advantage. This gentleman, who possesses a critical judgement in the antiquities of his country, as well as an extensive knowledge of its history, is lineally descended from the princes of the house of Powis.

who celebrated in a high ſtrain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the ſame time flouriſhed Dafydh ap Gwilim, a native of Caerdigan.

The Welſh, having made the laſt effort for their expiring freedom, ſunk into a ſtate of ſlavery, the moſt deep and ſevere. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progreſs, and from holding public aſſemblies; which privileges were called by the natives *clera* and *Cymhortha*. During this dark period, and the conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguiſhed, or was only employed in ſoothing the miſery of the times by obſcure *predictions* of more proſperous days.[z]

A brighter proſpect opening on the Welſh in the reign of Henry the ſeventh, a ſeries of bards from this time aroſe; who, being chiefly maintained in the families of the chieftains, aſcertained their genealogies; and, the cauſes of reciting warlike exploits having ceaſed, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hoſpitable ſpirit, their talents, and the graces of their perſons. They, likewiſe, amidſt other duties, had the mournful office of compoſing an elegy on the death of the chieftain in whoſe family they reſided; which was ſung to the ſurviving relations in honour of the dead; reciting

z Evan Evans Diſertatio de Bardis.

the noble families from which the deceafed had fprung, and the great actions performed by himfelf or his anceftors.

Since the reign of queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular affembly of the bards.[z] The motives of emulation and reward being thus removed, and the fpirit of ancient freedom being extinguifhed, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been fo renowned, gradually declined. But fome fparks of that ancient fire yet remain among the Welfh, which, in feafons of feftivity, break out into a fingular kind of poetry, called Pennyll;[a] and which, as

[z] Evan Evans Difertatio de Bardis. Jones's Mufical Remains, p. 30.

[a] Even at this day fome vein of the ancient minftrelfy furvives amongft our mountains. Numbers of perfons of both fexes affemble and fit round the harp, finging alternatively Pennillion or ftanzas of ancient or modern compofitions. The young people ufually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, affume this fpecies of relaxation. They alternately fing, dance, and drink, not by hours, but by days and weeks; and meafure time only by the continuance of their mirth and pleafure. Often, like the modern Improvifatore of Italy, they fing extempore verfes; and a perfon converfant in this art, readily produces a pennill oppofite to the laft that was fung. Many have their memories ftored with feveral hundreds, perhaps thoufands of penillion, fome of which they have always ready for anfwers to every fubject that can be propofed, or if their recollection fhould ever fail them, they have invention to compofe fomething pertinent and proper for the occafion. The fubjects afford a great deal of mirth; fome of thefe are jocular, others fatirical, but moft of them amorous; which, from the nature of the fubject, are beft preferved. They continue finging without intermiffion, never repeating the fame ftanza, (for that would forfeit the honour of being held firft of the fong) and, like nightingales, fupport the conteft through the night. The audience ufually call for the tune; fometimes a few only fing to it, and fometimes the whole company. But when a party of capital fingers affemble, they rarely call for the tune, for it is indifferent to them what tune the harper plays. Parifhes are often oppofed againft parifhes, and even counties contend with counties. Thefe rural ufages are beft preferved in the mountainous counties of Meirionedh and Caernarvon. See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun. The world is indebted to this Gentleman for many

as a native art, may long ſurvive, though time, or the influence of Engliſh manners, ſhould eraſe every other original trait.

THE union of Wales with the crown of England, not having proceeded from mutual inclination, was received by the Welſh with the deepeſt reluctance. It was an union which they conſidered only as a ſyſtem of ſlavery. Foreign laws and cuſtoms had been forced upon them; which, though better than their own, and more ſuited to their advances into civilization, were ſtill the laws of a conquering nation, with which, *on the footing of equality,* they had ſo long contended. The rigour alſo exerciſed by Edward's officers in Wales, alienated them ſtill more from an Engliſh adminiſtration; and they yet retained a fond attachment to the memory of their native princes.

To all the offers made to them by Edward of ſettling their government, they gave the ſame deciſive anſwer. They ſaid, they were willing to be governed by a chieftain of their own country, or by the king in perſon; but firmly declared that they would yield no obedience to any perſon who was not born in Wales, or who did not reſide there. The idea ſtruck the Engliſh monarch. He ſent orders to

many valuable publications reſpecting Wales. The countenance which they have already received from the public on account of the agreeable diſcriptions given of that country, and the deep and extenſive reſearches into its antiquities, renders any eulogium, on our part, unneceſſary.

to queen Eleanor to come inſtantly into Wales. At this time ſhe was big with child, and it was now the depth of winter. At this ſeaſon of the year, in her delicate ſituation, that princeſs travelled privately on horſeback, through the roads of thoſe times, out of England to Caernarvon. A few days before ſhe was delivered, the king ordered the Welſh chieftains to meet him at Rhuddlan, and to take into their conſideration the public concerns. Edward delayed for ſome time to call them into council. At length, having heard that Eleanor was delivered of a ſon[b] on the twenty-fifth of April, he commanded the attendance of the Welſh chieftains; and told them, that as they had frequently deſired he would appoint them a ſovereign, he would now indulge them in their requeſt, provided they promiſed to yield to the perſon he ſhould name a proper obedience. They aſſented to the terms he offered, in caſe that perſon ſhould be a native of Wales. The king, then, told them, that their intended prince was born in their own country, that he could not ſpeak a word of Engliſh, and that his life was free from every ſtain. It is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that the Welſh chieftains would be the dupes of this artifice. They eagerly aſſented to acknowledge ſuch a perſon for their ſovereign. The king then coldly informed them that their future prince was his own ſon born in Caernarvon caſtle a few days before. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that the Welſh chieftains,

[b] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 238. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2465.

though

though surprised at being caught in the snare, would console themselves with the hopes, that the young prince, as a native of Wales, would usually reside in their country.[c] On the magnanimity which was shewn in this transaction the reader will make his own comments. But to strike out advantage from the prejudices, or peculiar attachments of the Welsh; and to render such subservient to his own views, and direct them to their ultimate benefit, was a point of nice address in the English king, and did credit to his talents.

Edward, having finished the affairs of North Wales, to gratify a martial nobility, and to amuse or flatter his new subjects by a spectacle unknown to the Welsh, ordered a tournament to be held at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonshire, lying on the Irish channel.[d] This joust was in imitation of those supposed to be instituted by king Arthur, called the round table, from the knights who resorted to them being seated at a table of that form;[e] and which, it is said, had also been in use among the Gauls and the ancient Britons. A great number of knights, as well English as foreigners, came from all parts to share in this military entertainment;[f] and here the English king had an opportunity of shewing his Welsh subjects that he was

[c] Welsh Chron. p. 377. Stowe's Chron. p. 202. [d] Math. Westm. p. 178.

[e] Cambden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edition.

[f] Math. Westm. p. 178. Cambden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edit.

not

not inferior to Arthur their celebrated warrior, in feats of arms, and in knightly accomplishments. This diversion being ended, he made a progress through Caerdiganshire, where he remained a month to settle the affairs of South Wales; from thence he proceeded into Glamorganshire, on a visit to the earl of Gloucester, to whom that country belonged; and having been nobly entertained by that lord,[g] he came to Bristol, in which city he remained during the
Ann. Dom. 1284. Christmas holy days.[h] On the second of January, he issued a writ from thence, of a conciliatory nature; by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon, and other towns, were freed from paying talliages for
Ann. Dom. 1285. ever.[i] King Edward then returned to London, after an absence of nearly three years.[k] On his arrival, he rode in great solemnity through London to Westminster, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, dressed in their sacred vestments, besides an infinite multitude who attended the procession. The king, on this occasion, carried a part of our Lord's Cross which he had brought out of Wales, which was gilded and adorned with precious stones, and placed it upon the great altar in Westminster abbey.

The joy which Edward would naturally feel on the prosperous issue of his affairs, had been highly imbittered by the death

[g] Carte, vol. II. p. 197.

[h] Chron. T. Wyke's, p. 110. Holinshead, p. 281.

[i] Rymer, vol. II. p. 284.

[k] Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

death of Alphonso[l] his eldest son, a youth of no more than twelve years of age, who died on the nineteenth of August in the preceding year; a prince much admired by the English for his beauty, spirit, and valour. By his death the young prince, Edward of Caernarvon, became heir apparent to the English crown.[m]

The idea of that prince being a native of Wales, and the expectation that he would be accustomed to speak their language and to reside in their country, were the only ties which secured the fidelity of the Welsh to the English government. These bands being loosened, and the only motives to union having ceased, every part of the newly subdued state fell again into disorder: a spirit of resistance revived in the Welsh, not under the guidance of any one distinguished person, nor upon any plan of concerted operation, but only as chance or caprice, private ambition, or national hatred directed.

At this time the king of England was in Guienne, and had left, during his absence, the earl of Cornwall regent of the realm. In the late conquest of Wales, Rhys ap Meredydh had been active in the service of Edward; and in con-

[l] A few months before his death, coming to Westminster, he offered up at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, precious stones, and a piece of gold which had been the property of Llewelyn the late prince of Wales. See Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

[m] Chron. T. Wyke, p. 112. Polidore Vergil, p. 325.

sequence

ſequence of that ſervice had been made a knight, and flattered with the hopes of receiving from the hands of that prince ſtill farther honours. Inſtead of his expectations being realized, it ſeems as if he had been left in that cold neglect, which is often the juſt reward of men, who, for private advantage, forſake the paths of honour and integrity. He was cited to appear in the county courts, with other Welſh noblemen, by Robert de Tibetot, and Alan Plucknet, the one juſticiary of South Wales and governor of ſeveral caſtles adjoining to the territory of Rhys ap Meredydh, and the other the king's ſteward in Wales.[m] Incenſed at this ſummons, the Welſh chieftain refuſed his compliance. It was too mortifying to Rhys ſo eaſily to relinquiſh his rights, derived from a long train of princely anceſtors, or to ſee them mingle in the common ruin of ancient cuſtoms. On his refuſal, legal meaſures were taken to enforce his obedience. During the proceſs, frequent hoſtilities happened between the retainers of the two parties, to the great annoyance of the country; at length the diſorder roſe to ſuch a height, as to make it neceſſary, by an order of the king, for the earl of Cornwall to come in perſon into Wales with an army, and endeavour to check the inſurrection. At the ſame time the king himſelf wrote to Rhys ap Meredydh, to deſire that he would ceaſe from hoſtilities, aſſuring him, that, on his return, the evils he complained of ſhould be redreſſed, and that all reaſonable juſtice ſhould be done him.[n]

[m] Welſh Chron. p. 379. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinſhead, p. 283. [n] Ibid.

But

But Rhys thought the king's abſence a fair opportunity of rouſing the ſpirit of the Welſh, as yet not reconciled to ſubjection, and of mounting the throne of his anceſtors.[o] In purſuance of this deſign, and that his followers might have no hopes of ſafety but in their own valour, he took the caſtles of Llanymddyvri and Dinevawr, and likewiſe ſet fire to ſeveral towns.[p] Ann. Dom. 1287.

The earl of Cornwall deſigning at the ſame time to attack the rebel chieftain in ſeveral quarters, ſummoned the military tenants of the crown to rendezvous at Glouceſter, Llanbadernvawr, and Monmouth, ready to march under his own command, or under the earl of Glouceſter, who was appointed general in this expedition.[q] This appointment however was ſuperſeded by Cornwall himſelf,[r] who, marching into Wales, obliged Rhys and his followers to retire into the faſtneſſes of the country, which gave that nobleman an opportunity of taking and demoliſhing the caſtles of the Welſh chieftain. One of theſe was the caſtle of Ruſlin. It was uſual in thoſe days, in the ſiege of a fortreſs, to undermine the walls by ſinking a mine, and to ſupport it with timber till the beſiegers were ready to begin the attack; they then ſet fire to the props, and the mine ſinking, the walls fell to the ground, and the aſſault immediately took place.

[o] Polidore Vergil, p. 326.

[p] Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

[q] Ibid. [r] Ibid.

place. During this operation, in the ſiege of this fortreſs, the lords Stafford and William de Monchency, attended by many knights and eſquires, came to reconnoitre the works, but the miners, unſkilful in that ſervice, had ſupported the mine ſo weakly, that the walls ſuddenly falling in, they all periſhed under the ruins. Though the caſtle was taken, the expedition was rendered of little advantage, by the earl of Glouceſter having remained inactive, owing, it is probable, to his being ſuperſeded in the command, or to ſome ſecret inclination he might feel to favour the enemies cauſe.[s] The earl of Cornwall, unable to force Rhys ap Meredydh, and the ſeaſon of the year advancing into winter, was obliged to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, and to grant him a truce.[t]

The regent had no ſooner arrived at Weſtminſter early in November, than the Welſh chieftain renewed hoſtilities, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Emlyn.[u] On this breach of the treaty the juſticiary ſet a price upon his head, and alſo proclaimed him a traitor: ſummonſes were likewiſe iſſued by the earl of Cornwall for the nobility on the borders of Wales to take up arms againſt the rebels.[x] The Mortimers, and other lords of the marches, taking arms under Robert de Tibetot, gained poſſeſſion of a ſtrong fortreſs belonging

[s] Holinſhead, p. 284. Math. Weſtm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienſes, p. 240.

[t] Ibid. [u] Rymer, vol. II. p. 354.

[x] T. Wyke, p. 115. Rymer, vol. II. p. 344, 345.

to

to Rhys, and ſo effectually checked his deſigns, that having no ſecurity in his own territories, he took refuge in thoſe of the earl of Glouceſter, by whoſe means he afterwards eſcaped into Ireland.[y]

Having remained inactive in this retreat three years, Rhys ap Meredydh came again into South Wales, and raiſing a new inſurrection, the juſticiary oppoſed him with the few forces which on a ſudden he was able to raiſe. Informed that his own troops were more in number than the Engliſh, the Welſh chieftain, with great confidence, marched to give them the meeting. The levies he brought into the field were young and raw ſoldiers: accuſtomed to no diſcipline, they did not preſerve any order in their ranks, but attacked the Engliſh with fury in front, flank, and rear, expecting on the firſt onſet to break their array. The Engliſh troops, forming into a cloſe body, preſented a front on every ſide to the aſſailants. The action continued for ſome time warmly diſputed: the Welſh repeating their onſets with much bravery, and the Engliſh as bravely beating them back: at length, the aſſaults of the Welſh growing more weak, the Engliſh made an effort to break through the main body of the enemy, which they eaſily accompliſhed. The Welſh troops, confuſed and in diſmay at the unexpected turn the action had taken, were beaten down on every ſide.

Ann. Dom. 1290.

y Holinſhead, p. 284. Math. Weſtm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleienſes, p. 240.

Four

Four thousand of the Welsh were slain in this engagement.[z] Their leader Rhys ap Meredydh was taken prisoner; and a little time after, on the departure of the king into Scotland, he was executed at York, agreeably to the new mode of punishment, by being drawn at the tails of horses, and then hanged and quartered.[a] After his death, the castles and territories of that chieftain were given to Robert de Tibetot.[b]

At this time, Edward was engaged in a dispute with the French king, and other means proving ineffectual, he determined to do himself justice by force of arms. In this design, he was assisted by the English, who granted him very liberal supplies; and he now attempted to make an experiment of taxation on his new subjects the Welsh. He appointed Roger de Puleston, a man of great eminence in the country, and who was high in his favour, to collect a fifteenth of their moveables.[c] As yet little inured to the habits of a foreign government, the spirit of the Welsh was set on fire as soon as this tax was attempted to be enforced; an assent to which they considered as forming a precedent in future for impositions of the like nature.

Three insurrections sprung up in Wales, in different places, and nearly at the same time; though it does not

[z] Holinshead, p. 284. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

[a] Polidore Vergil, p. 326, 327. Math. Westm. p. 184, says he was executed at Berwick.

[b] Rymer, vol. II. p. 482.

[c] Welsh Chron. p. 380. Carte, vol. II. p. 236. from Walsingham Chr. Dunstaple. Pat. 22. E. I. m. 28.

appear

appear that they were directed by any common principle of union.

The natives of West Wales[c] rose up in arms, under the leading of Maelgwyn Vychan, and plundered the counties of Pembroke and Caerdigan. Those who inhabited Glamorgan and the southern parts, also rose under the conduct of a chieftain of the name of Morgan, descended from the ancient lords of that country, and being joined by the principal vassals of the earl of Gloucester, they drove that nobleman entirely out of his own territories, and restored to the Welsh chieftain the inheritance of his ancestors. Madoc, a kinsman of the last Llewelyn,[d] who had himself assumed the title of prince, was at the head of the insurgents in North Wales.[e]

The revolt opened with acts of hostility, which marked an inveteracy of spirit, and a firm resolution in the Welsh, that the sword alone should secure their safety, and determine the dispute. Seising on Roger de Puleston, they caused him to be hanged, and afterwards cut off his head; the same fate attended all his associates concerned in collecting this odious tribute. Madoc, then, about the middle

[c] Pembrokeshire.

[d] He is by some supposed to have been the son of Llewelyn, the last prince, but if so, he must have been illegitimate.

[e] Math. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

of July, proceeded to Caernarvon, at this time crowded with the English, who had assembled there on account of a great fair. These unarmed people were all slaughtered: the town was plundered and set on fire, and the castle of Caernarvon taken:[f] the fortress in Snowdun, likewise, fell into the hands of Madoc, who soon after gained possession of Anglesey.[g]

A REVOLT opened with such daring insults, and so widely spread, determined Edward to suspend his intended views on the continent, and to recall his forces, then ready to embark under the command of his brother the earl of Lancaster, and of Henry Lacie earl of Lincoln and lord of Denbigh. The latter nobleman, with a view of preserving the castle of Denbigh, advanced before the king into North Wales, and proceeding in his route under the walls of that fortress, on the eleventh of November was suddenly encountered by the Welsh, who, encouraged by the situation of the English, were desirous of risking their fortunes on the issue of a single battle. The event was glorious to the Welsh; the English forces were defeated and forced to retire.[h] About this time Maelgwyn Vychan was taken prisoner and conveyed to Hereford,

[f] Math. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

[g] Carte, vol. II. p. 237. from T. Walsingham. Pat. 22. E. I. m. 28.

[h] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2471. Polidore Vergil, p. 332. Welsh Chron. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

where

where having been drawn at the tails of horſes to the place of execution, he was hanged with two of his accomplices.[i]

At this time the Engliſh king was in South Wales, attempting in perſon to quiet the diſorders of that country. The earl of Warwick had already obliged Morgan the other chieftain, with ſeven hundred of his men, to ſubmit himſelf to the royal mercy.[i] That chief, and others of the Welſh nobility, who were vaſſals of the earl of Glouceſter, diſguſted with the pride and arbitrary conduct of that nobleman, had entered into a reſolution never to ſubmit to his authority, but offered to yield themſelves up, provided they might hold their lands of the crown of England. Being indulged in this requeſt, Morgan and the other chieftains laid down their arms, did homage to the king, and delivered hoſtages for their fidelity.[k] Edward had been deceived into the expectation that the county of Caerdigan would have followed the example of the people of Glamorgan; but this ſubmiſſion at preſent not taking place, in reſentment of the deception offered him by the abbot of Strata-florida, the Engliſh prince ſet fire to that abbey.[l]

Alarmed for the ſafety of his new dominions, and at a revolt which was now riſing into importance, Edward

[i] Math. Weſtm. p. 191, calls him Chanan.

[i] Guthrie's Hiſt. England, p. 919.

[k] Math. Weſtm. p. 191. Carte, vol. I. p. 237.

[l] Guthrie, vol. I. p. 919.

came

came into North Wales to conduct the war in perſon. Having proceeded in his march as far as the Conway, he croſſed that arm of the ſea with a part of his forces, and retiring into the caſtle, waited for the remainder to follow. In his paſſage he loſt many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welſh, who in great multitudes came down from the mountains, and inveſted the caſtle on the ſide of the land. A ſudden riſe in the water of the Conway preventing his troops from paſſing over, rendered Edward's ſituation exceedingly alarming; in great want of proviſions, cut off from his army, and ſurrounded on every ſide by water and the enemy. The difficulties in the garriſon were ſo great with reſpect to proviſions, that Edward, in common with the ſoldiers, was obliged to eat ſalted meat, and the coarſe bread which was found in the caſtle, and to uſe water likewiſe for his drink mixed with honey. A ſingle flaggon of wine only remained in the caſtle, which being reſerved ſolely for the king's uſe, that prince could not be prevailed upon to taſte it, but cauſing it be mingled with water, he ordered the liquor to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers in the garriſon, declaring, with a manly ſpirit, that he would ſhare every extremity with the meaneſt ſoldier.[m] Edward's uſual good fortune attended him on this occaſion; for the Conway ſuddenly ſubſiding, his forces were enabled to croſs the water and come to his relief. The Welſh, then, abandoned the ſiege and retired

[m] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472.

to

to the mountains. The Engliſh king paſſed the Chriſtmas holidays without moleſtation in the caſtle of Conway.[m]

Soon after the earl of Warwick receiving intelligence that a large body of the enemy were encamped in a valley encloſed on each ſide by a wood, ſelected for this ſervice a ſquadron of horſe, with a choſen body of croſbow-men and archers; with this force marching ſilently in the night, he ſuddenly ſurrounded the Welſh, little ſuſpecting an aſſault. With much coolneſs, the Welſh, fixing their ſpears in the ground, and preſenting a dangerous front, kept off the Engliſh horſe. Not able to make any impreſſion, Warwick, then, placed a croſbow-man or an archer in every interval between two horſemen, who, thus, fighting at a diſtance, ſlew great numbers with their ſhot and arrows; then charging the remaining body with his horſe, the Welſh phalanx was broken, and was ſoon entirely routed with very great ſlaughter.[n] After this action, Edward, finding no enemy to reſiſt him, marched into Angleſey, where he erected a ſtrong fortreſs, which he called Beumariſh,[o] as a check to the natives of that iſland. Then having cauſed roads to be cut through the woods,[p] and having ſeverely puniſhed all who were concerned in

m Holinſhead, p. 293. Welſh Chron. p. 380.

n J. Roſſi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Holinſhead, p. 294.

o Cambden's Brit. p. 675. Gibſon's edit.

p Holinſhead, p. 294. Welſh Chron. p. 381.

 the

the murder of Roger de Pulefton, he returned with his army into England.[q]

All this time, the gallant Madoc, giving way to the ftorm, though ftill unbroken in his fpirit, had retired into a place of fecurity. The young chieftain, no doubt, on his firft fuccefs, had flattered himfelf with the hopes of reftoring his country to its ancient freedom.[r] Incited by this fond idea, the Welfh in great numbers ftill eagerly joined his ftandard. On the king's departure, Madoc invaded the Englifh borders. Having reduced Ofweftry and ravaged the adjacent country, he defeated the lord Strange near Knocking; then again defeating a body of Englifh in another engagement, he proceeded towards Shrewfbury; but during his progrefs his forces were routed, and he himfelf taken prifoner by the lords of the marches, after a long refiftance, upon the hills of Cefn Digolh not far from Caurs caftle.[s] Madoc was fent up to London, and doomed by Edward to perpetual imprifonment in the tower.[t]

On this difafter, all the Welfh chieftains laid down their arms and fubmitted to the king, whofe conduct on this occafion was politic, and tempered in fome degree with

[q] Math. Weftm. p. 191. [r] Holinfhead, p. 294.
[s] It is faid by others that Madoc was delivered up to Edward by his own army. [t] Welfh Chron. p. 381.

lenity.

lenity. No victim was offered to the ſeverity of his juſtice: he gave to the heirs of the rebellious chieftains their forfeited eſtates; requiring only a compenſation for the damages he had ſuſtained in the war, with an aſſurance likewiſe of implicit obedience for the future. Leſt the moderation of his conduct might again incite them to revolt, he aſſured them, that he would entirely exterminate their nation, if they again preſumed to reſiſt his authority.[u] The chief of the Welſh nobility were confined in different caſtles of England, where they remained ſome years, during the wars of Edward in Scotland;[x] that prince, no doubt, regarding their confinement as the only ſure pledge of their fidelity. The greater number of theſe chieftains were impriſoned in the tower of London. To ſoothe their minds during this ſolitary confinement, baniſhed from their country and friends, the Welſh nobility ſolicited the favour that their manuſcripts might be ſent to them out of Wales. They were indulged in this reaſonable requeſt; as it is natural to conclude, that they made a free uſe of this indulgence, in proceſs of time the tower became the principal repoſitory of Welſh literature. This valuable collection is ſaid to have been committed to the flames by one Scolan,[y] a perſon who is only known to the world by having perpetrated

Ann. Dom. 1295.

[u] Carte's Hiſt. Eng. p. 237.

[x] Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472. Holinſhead, p. 294. Welſh Chron. p. 382.

[y] Jones's Muſical and Poetical Relics of the Welſh Bards, p. 1.

ſo infamous an action, and who, perhaps, might have been inſtigated to it by no better motive than that which urged Heroſtratus to ſet on fire the temple of Diana.

THE inſurrections already recited, with the revolt of Sir Gryffydh Lluyd, and the rebellion of Owen Glendwrdwy, were the laſt efforts which the Welſh made to recover the freedom they had loſt. Their wild ſpirit of independence, and their enthuſiaſm for liberty from this period gradually declined. The blood of their beloved princes was nearly extinct; and their native bravery was ſubdued, or rendered ineffectual by their inteſtine diviſions, and by their repeated misfortunes. When fierce valour and unregulated freedom are oppoſed to diſcipline, to enlarged views, and to ſound policy, the conteſt is very unequal; it is not therefore ſurpriſing that the genius of England at length obtained the aſcendency. It was, indeed, an intereſting ſpectacle, and might juſtly have excited indignation and pity, to have ſeen an ancient and gallant nation falling the victims of private ambition, or ſinking under the weight of a ſuperior power. But ſuch emotions, which were then due to that injured people, have loſt, at this period, their poignancy and force. A new train of ideas ariſe, when we ſee that the change is beneficial to the vanquiſhed: when we ſee a wild and precarious liberty ſucceeded by a freedom, ſecured by equal and fixed laws: when we ſee manners hoſtile and barbarous, and

and a ſpirit of rapine and cruelty, ſoftened down into the arts of peace, and the milder habits of civilized life: when we ſee this Remnant of the ancient Britons, uniting in intereſts, and mingling in friendſhip with the Engliſh, and enjoying with them the ſame Conſtitutional Liberties; the purity of which, we truſt, will continue uncorrupted as long as this Empire ſhall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

AFTER the conqueſt of Wales by Edward the firſt, the concerns of that country, conſidered in a national light, are entirely unintereſting, as the inhabitants, until the reign of Henry the ſeventh, were reduced to a ſtate of bondage the moſt deep and ſevere.[a]

In this ſtate, actuated by few other ſprings than their paſſions, reſtrained by no regular police, no longer animated by the preſence of their princes, nor their minds ſoftened by the influence of native arts, the manners of the Welſh, for a long period, were marked with the deepeſt ferocity. Unemployed, likewiſe, in the arts of peace, little civilized by ſocial intercourſe, and enjoying only a narrow and partial hoſpitality, their eager ſpirit, no longer directed againſt a potent and hereditary enemy, naturally ſunk into deadly feuds,[b] or was deeply engaged in the pleaſures of the chace.

[a] See Statutes reſpecting Wales in the reigns of Henry the fourth and Henry the ſixth.

[b] Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 78, 79, &c.

THOUGH

Though the policy of Edward the first had allowed the Welsh to enjoy their liberties, and to hold their estates under ancient tenures, they had much reason to complain of the excessive rigour exercised over them by the officers of justice, and of the rapacity of the English lords who were settled in Wales.[c]

The powers of the lords marchers were still in their full force, and had been exercised with such severity on the Welsh, as to render an act of parliament necessary in the reign of Henry the eighth. The statute is to the following purpose; "Whereas many "robberies, murders, and other evil practices have been daily com- "mitted in the county palatine of Chester, and Flintshire in Wales, "and also in Anglesea, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Caerdigan, Caer- "marthen, Pembroke, and Glamorgan; because justice is not admi- "nistered there in such form as in other places of this realm: for "the remedy of this, it is enacted, that the Lord Chancellor of "England, or keeper of the great seal, shall nominate and appoint "justices of peace, justices of the quorum, and justices of the goal- "delivery in the said counties, and that they shall have like power "and authority as those in England." This statute in some measure lessened the evils complained of, as it was the means of keeping offenders in awe, they not being able, as before, to escape, and to flee from one lordship marcher to another: it also placed the administration of justice on a more stable foundation.

Another evil had likewise arisen, which strongly marked the oppression of the times, to the remedy of which a succeeding statute was judged necessary, and was to the following effect: "Whereas

[c] Hist. Gwedir family, p. 30, 31, 34.

"in

" in Wales and in the Marches, there are many forests belonging " either to the king or to the lords marchers, wherein sundry " actions have been committed for a long time, contrary to the law " of God and man; insomuch, that if any person entered the " said forests without a *token* given him by any of the foresters, " as a licence to pass, or unless he was a yearly *tributer* or *chenser*, " he was forced to pay a grievous fine; and if he should chance to " be found twenty-four feet out of the highway, he was then to " forfeit all the gold or money which was found on his person, and " likewise a joint of one of his hands, unless he was fined for the " offence at the discretion of the forester, or farmer of the same. " And whereas likewise, if any cattle strayed into the said forests, " it was the custom of the foresters to mark them for their own, " with the mark of the forest." By this statute, it was enacted, that people should be allowed to pass through these forests as freely as in other places; and that strayed cattle, within a year and a day should be restored to the right owners, they paying only a compensation for the herbage.

These statutes, restraining the powers of the lords marchers, were some years after succeeded by another statute, which rendered those lords no longer the objects of terror, and entirely destroyed their juridical authority. It was to the following effect: " Whereas " by the gifts of the kings of England, many of the most ancient " prerogatives and authorities of justice appertaining to the " imperial crown of this realm, have been severed and taken " from the same; it was then enacted, that no person should " have power and authority to pardon or to remit treasons, " murders, man-slaughters, or any felonies, or their accessaries in " any

"any part of England, Wales, or in the marches of the ſame: "That likewiſe no perſon ſhould make juſtices of oyer, juſtices "of aſſize, juſtices of peace, or juſtices of goal-delivery; but "they ſhould in future be made only by the king's letters patent: "And that all original writs, judicial writs, and all manner "of indictments for treaſon, felony, and treſpaſs, and all manner "of proceſs ſhould be only made in the king's name; and that all "offences committed againſt the peace, ſhould be conſidered "as an offence committed againſt the king, and not againſt "the peace of any other perſon."

These exceſſive powers, anciently veſted in thoſe perſons who enjoyed counties palatine, and *jura regalia* in lordſhip marchers, being thus taken away, a more regular and uniform courſe of juſtice was eſtabliſhed; and in conſequence, the diſorder and miſchief continually happening within thoſe precincts were in a great meaſure prevented.

Though theſe humane and ſalutary ſtatutes had relieved the Welſh from many of their ſufferings, the line of diſtinction was ſtill preſerved, and they yet remained as a ſeparate people; a diſtinction, contrary to all juſt ideas of government, and which could only ſerve to keep alive their national prejudices.

The Welſh themſelves, ſolicited Henry the eighth that he would extend his liberal deſigns, and give them a ſtill more ſalutary effect. The petition itſelf, which they ſent to that monarch, will beſt explain their extenſive views and manly ſpirit, as well as the nature and juſtice of their claims.

"May

"May it please your Highness."

"We, on the part of your Highnesses subjects, inhabiting that "portion of the island which our invaders first called Wales, "most humbly prostrate at your Highnesses feet, do crave to be "received and adopted into the same laws, and privileges, which "your other subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us (we hope) "that we have lived so long under our own. For as they were "both enacted by authority of our ancient law-givers, and obeyed "for many successions of ages, we trust your Highness will pardon "us, if we thought it neither easy nor safe so suddenly to re-"linquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them "with these now used, and less shall we contest how good and "equal in themselves they are. Only if the defence of them "and our liberty against the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, for "so many hundred years, and lastly against the Normans, as "long as they pretended no title but the sword, was thought "just and honourable; we presume it will not be infamous now; "and that all the marks of rebellion and falshood, which our "revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, sooner than those "who fought for so many years, and with so different nations "for our just defence: Which also is so true, that our best "histories affirm the christian religion to have been preserved "only by us for many years that the Saxons (being heathens) "either attempted or possessed this country. May your Highness "then graciously interpret our actions, while we did but that "duty which your Highness would have now done by all your "subjects on like occasion; for when any should invade this "country henceforth, we know your Highness would have us "to behave ourselves no otherwise. Besides, had not the assailers "found

" found ſome reſiſtance, they might have deſpiſed a country, that " brought none forth able enough to aſſert it; ſo that we crave " pardon, Sir, if we ſay it was fit for the honour of your dominions " that ſome part of it ſhould never be conquered. We then " in the name of whatſoever in your Highneſſes poſſeſſion hath " in any age held out againſt all invaders, do here voluntarily " reſign, and humble ourſelves to that ſovereignty, which we " acknowledge ſo well inveſted in your Highneſs. Nor is this " the firſt time; we have always attended on occaſion to unite " ourſelves to the greater and better parts of the iſland.

" But as the kings of this realm, weary of their attempts " in perſon againſt us did formerly give not only our country " to thoſe who could conquer it, but permitted them *jura regalia*, " within their ſeveral precincts; ſo it was impoſſible to come " to an agreement, while ſo many that undertook this work, " uſurped martial and abſolute power and juriſdiction in all they " acquired, without eſtabliſhing any equal juſtice. And that " all offenders flying from one lordſhip marcher (for ſo they were " termed) to another, did both avoid the puniſhment of the " law, and eaſily commit thoſe robberies, which formerly tainted " the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous laws not " only of the ſeveral conquerors of England, but the attempters " on our parts, were brought to an equal moderation, no union, " how muchſoever affected by us, could enſue.

" Therefore, and not ſooner, we ſubmitted ourſelves to Edward " the firſt, a prince, who made both many and equaller laws " than any before him, therefore we defended his ſon Edward the

"the fecond, when not only the Englifh forfook him, but our-
"felves might have recovered our former liberty, had we defired
"it. Therefore we got victories for Edward the third, and ftood
"firm during all the diffentions of this realm to his grand child
"and fucceffor Richard the fecond. Only if fome amongft us
"refifted Henry the fourth, your highnefs may better fuppofe
"the reafon than we tell it, though divers foreigners openly
"refufing to treat with him as a fovereign and lawful prince,
"have fufficiently publifhed it. We did not yet decline a due
"obedience to Henry the fifth, though in doubtful times, we
"cannot deny, but many refractory perfons have appeared.
"Howfoever, we never joined ourfelves with the Englifh rebels
"or took occafion thereby to recover our liberty, though in
"Richard the fecond's time, and during all the civil wars betwixt
"Lancafter and York, much occafion was given. For adhering
"to the houfe of York, which we conceived the better title,
"we conferved our devotion ftill to the crown, until your Highneffes
"father's time, who (bearing his name and blood from us) was
"the more chearfully affifted by our predeceffors in his title
"to the crown, which your highnefs doth prefently enjoy. And
"thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage
"in defending our laws and country, we have given no lefs proof
"of a loyal fidelity fince we firft rendered ourfelves. In fo much,
"that we may truly affirm, that after our acceptance of the con-
"dition given us by Edward the firft, we have omitted no occafion
"of performing the duty of loving fubjects. Neither is there
"any thing that comforts us more than that all thofe controverfies
"about fucceffion (which fo long wafted this land) are determined
"in your Highneffes perfon; in whom we acknowledge both Houfes
"to be happily united.

"To

"To your Highneſs therefore we offer all obedience, deſiring "only that we may be defended againſt the inſults of our malignant "cenſurers: For we are not the offspring of the run-away Britains "(as they term us) but natives of a country, which, beſides "defending itſelf, received all thoſe who came to us for ſuccours. "Give us then (Sir) permiſſion to ſay, that they wrong us much, "who pretend our country was not inhabited before them, or that "it failed in a due piety, when it was ſo hoſpitable to all that "fled thither for refuge: Which alſo will be more credible, when "it ſhall be remembered, that even our higheſt mountains furniſh "good beef and mutton, not only to all the inhabitants, but "ſupply England in great quantity. We humbly beſeech your "Highneſs therefore, that this note may be taken from us. As "for our language, though it ſeem harſh, it is that yet which "was ſpoken anciently, not only in this iſland, but in France: "Some dialects whereof therefore remain ſtill amongſt the *Bas-"Bretons* there, and here in Cornwall. Neither will any man "doubt it, when he ſhall find thoſe words of the ancient Gauliſh "language repeated by the Latin authors, to ſignify the ſame "thing amongſt us at this day: Nor ſhall it be a diſparagement "(we hope) that it is ſpoken ſo much in the throat, ſince the "Florentine and Spaniard affect this kind of pronunciation, as "believing words that ſound ſo deep proceed from the heart. "So that if we have retained this language longer than the more "northern inhabitants of this iſland (whoſe ſpeech appears "manifeſtly to be a kind of Engliſh, and conſequently introduced "by the Saxons) we hope it will be no imputation to us; your "highneſs will have but the more tongues to ſerve you: It ſhall "not hinder us to ſtudy Engliſh, when it were but to learn how

"we

"we might the better ſerve and obey your Highneſs: To whoſe "laws we moſt humbly deſire again to be adopted, and doubt "not, but if in all countries the mountains have afforded as "eminent wits and ſpirits as any other part, ours alſo by your "Highneſſes good favour and employment may receive that "eſteem."

THE king, having conſidered the loyalty of his Welſh ſubjects, and the reaſonable nature of their claim, ordered a ſtatute to be enacted, which entirely united Wales with his other dominions; regarding, no doubt, ſuch an union as an object of ſound policy.

The ſtatute is to this effect.

"THAT as the dominion, principality and country of Wales "is a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm, "whereof therefore the king is head and ruler; yet as it hath "divers rights, uſages, laws and cuſtoms very different to the "laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and becauſe the language of "that country is different from that which is ſpoken here, and "that many rude people hereupon have made diſtinction and "diverſity betwixt his Highneſſes other ſubjects, and them, "to the cauſing of much diſcord and ſedition; his Highneſs "therefore, out of his love and favour to his ſubjects in Wales, "and for reducing them to his laws, doth by advice and conſent "of his parliament ordain and enact, that Wales ſhall be united "and incorporated henceforth to and with his realm of England; "and that his ſubjects in Wales ſhall enjoy and inherit all ſingular "freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges and laws which his High-"neſſes ſubjects elſewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore "that inheritances ſhall deſcend after the manner of England,

"without

"without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form "of Welsh laws or customs. And forsamuch as there are divers "lordships marchers within the said country or dominion in Wales, "being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due "correction is used and had, and that in them and the countries "adjoining manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, "have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the "offenders, making their refuge from one lordship marcher to "another, were continued without punishment and correction. "Therefore it is enacted that the said lordships marchers shall "be united, annexed, and joined to divers shires specified in "the said act."[a]

THIS statute was put into immediate execution, the utility of which has been fully justified by the experience of nearly three centuries. During this time, the genius of the Welsh has taken a different turn, has composed itself to rational obedience, and has been directed to those pursuits which tend to polish their manners, to enlarge their views, and to cultivate their minds; and, by consequence, to promote the best interests of the public, and as well as the happiness of individuals.

[a] This account of the abolition of lordships marchers, and of the petition of the Welsh to Henry the eighth, has been taken from lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his history of the reign of that monarch.

No. I.

No. I.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto Senescallus Cestriæ Salutem: Sciatis quòd ego me constitui plegium, &c.

TO all and singular to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto Steward of Chester sendeth greeting: Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Gruffyth the sonne of Lhewelyn, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said souereigne Lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Gruffyth hir husband and Owen his son out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Gruffyth, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale, Dated at Salop, the mundaie before the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 25. yeare of the reigne of the said King.

No. II.

Reuerendissimis in Christo patribus ac D. D. Roberto Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ Primati, & Archiepiscopo Eborum, ac eorum Suffraganeis, &c.

TO the most reuerend fathers in Christ and Lords, Robert by the grace of God Archbishop of Canturburie, primate of England, and the Archbishop of Yorke, and their Suffraganes, being now togither at London in councell: their deuout sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and lord of Snoudon, greeting with due obedience,

dience, reuerence, and honor in all things. Be it knowen to your reuerend Fatherhoods, that where heretofore contention and discord (whereof warre followed and long continued) arose betwixt the king of noble memorie Henrie king of England of the one partie, and vs of the other partie: the same contentions and strife were at the last appeased by the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, and meanes of the reuerend father lord Otobonus, Deacon and Cardinall of S. Adrian Legate into England: as it appeareth in the forme of treatie and peace betwixt the said king, and Edward his first begotten son, lord Edward now king of England, and their successors on the one partie: and vs and our successors on the other partie, by the corporall othes of both parties assured. Which forme of peace was committed to writing by the said Legate, with the seale of the said king, and the seale of the said lord Edward now king, and with our seale also. In the which peace it is conteined amongst other things (which you doo well know as we beleeue) that we and our successors should hold of the king and his successors the principalitie of Wales. So that all Welsh Barons should hold their Baronies and lands of vs and our successors in Capite, and should doo homage and fealtie to vs and to our heires (one Baron excepted) for the which we and our successors should doo homage and fealtie to the lord the king and his successors. It is further conteined in the same peace, that neither the said king nor his successors, should receiue anie of our enemies, nor anie running awaie from vs, or our successors, nor should helpe or maintaine anie such against vs or our successors. The which all are conteined in the forme of peace, the tenor whereof the reuerend Fathers of Strata Florida, and Aberconwey bearers hereof can shew you.

But see reuerend Fathers, the lord Edward now noble king of England, after the said peace taketh into his hands certeine Barons lands of Wales, of which they and their ancestors haue beene long possessed, and keepeth a Baronie in his hands which should be ours by the forme of peace: other Barons of our land being from vs fugitiues, running to him, he keepeth, helpeth and mainteineth; as Dauid ap Gruffyth, and Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, who purposed our death and destruction. Notwithstanding that since their departure they haue robbed within our land, committed slaughter, and burning of houses, and doo still dailie commit the like against the peace aforesaid: and although we haue often sent our greefes and complaints by our solemne messengers, to the said noble lord Edward, as well before he was king, as since, yet vnto this daie he neuer did anie redresse therein. Also that which is more perilous, he called vs vnto a place (not to vs safe) amongst our deadile enemies, our fugitiues and felons and their spies and murderers, to doo him homage and fealtie: to the which place we can no waies come without danger of our bodie: especiallie seeing our enemies abouesaid be in that place at the king's table, and sometime in counsell, and openlie brag themselues. And though lawfull and

and reasonable excuses were alledged by our messengers, before the king aud his councell, why the place was not safe nor indifferent, yet he refused to allow or appoint anie other place indifferent for vs to doo our homage and fealtie: which we were and are readie to doo vnto him, in anie safe place by him to be appointed, if he will appoint anie: and to performe the other articles of the peace concluded and sworne. And for that it pleased him not to come to anie place, where we could with safetie do him homage, we were suiters to him, to send anie from him to receiue our oth and homage, vntill it pleased him to appoint a place, where we shall doo our homage to him personallie, the which thing he vtterlie denied to doo.

We therefore beseech your Fatherhoods earnestlie, that it please you to consider what danger should happen to the people both of England and of Wales, by reason of the breach of the couenants of peace aboue said: if now warres and discord should follow, which God forbid: attending and calling to remembrance the prohibition of the holie father the Pope latelie in the councell at Lions, that no warre should be mooued amongst Christians: least thereby the affaires of the holie land should be neglected: that it would please you also to helpe with your counsell with the lord and king, that he would vse vs and order vs according to the peace agreed vpon, the which we will no waie infringe. And if he will not harken to your counsell therein (which God forbid) that you will hold vs excused, for we will no waies as much as in vs lieth procure the trouble or disquietnes of the Realme. And if it may please you to giue credit to our messengers (which we doo send to the king at the daie by him vnto vs appointed) to alledge our lawful excuses in those things, which they by mouth shall on our part shew vnto you: resting to doo your will and pleasure, if it please you to write againe. Dated at Talybont the 6. daie of October, An. 1275.

No. III.

Certeine greefes sent from Lhewelyn, to the Archbishop: translated Word by Word out of the Records of the said Archbishop.

WHERE that it is conteined in the forme of the peace, concluded as foloweth.

1 If the said Lhewelyn will claime anie right in anie lands occupied by anie other than by the lord the king, without the said foure Cantreds, the said lord the king shall doo him full iustice, according to the lawes and customes of those quarters or parts, where the said lands doo lie. Which article was not obserued in the lands in Arustly, and betwixt the waters of Dyui and Dulas, for that when the said Lhewelyn claimed the said lands before the Lord the king at Ruthlan, and

and the king granted him the cause to be examined according to the lawes and customes of Wales, and the aduocates of the parties were brought in, and the Iudges which vulgarlie they call Ynnayd, before the king, to iudge of the said lands according to the lawes of Wales. And the defendant appeared and answered so, that the same daie the cause ought to haue beene fullie determined according to the appointment of our lord the king. Who at his being at Glocester, had assigned the parties the said daie: and though the same cause was in diuers places often heard and examined before the Iustice, and that the lands were in Northwales, and neuer iudged but by the laws of Wales, neither was it lawfull for the king but according to the lawes of Wales to proroge the cause; all that notwithstanding he proroged the daie (of his owne motion) contrarie to the said lawes. And at the last the said Lhewelyn was called to diuers places, whither he ought not to haue beene called: neither could he obteine iustice, nor anie iudgement, vnlesse it were according to the lawes of England, contrarie to the said article of the peace. And the same was doone at Montgomery, when the parties were present in iudgement, and a daie appointed to heare sentence, they proroged the said daie contrarie to the foresaid lawes: and at the last the king himselfe at London denied him iustice, vnlesse he would be iudged according to the English lawes in the said matter.

2 All iniuries, trespasses and faults on either part doone, be clearelie remitted vnto this present daie. This article was not kept; for that as soone as the lord Reginald Gray was made Iustice, he mooued diuers and innumerable accusations against the men of Tegengl and Ros, for trespasses doone in the time of king Henrie: when they bare rule in those parties, wherby the said men dare not for feare keepe their own houses.

3 Where as it was agreed that Rees Vadhan ap Rees ap Maelgon shall enioie his possessions, with all the land which he now holdeth, &c. After the peace concluded he was spoiled of his lands of Geneu'rglyn which he then held, with the men and cattell of the same.

4 Also our lord the king granteth, that all tenants holding lands in the foure Cantreds, and in other places which the king holdeth in his owne hands, shall hold and enioie the same, as freelie as they did before the time of the warres, and shall vse the same liberties and customes, which they vsed before. Contrarie to this article, the lord Reginald Gray hath brought manie new customes against the forme of peace aforesaid.

5 All controuersies mooued, or to be mooued betwixt the Prince and anie other, shall be decided after the lawe of the marches (if they haue their beginning in the marches) and after the lawes of Wales, such as in Wales haue their beginning. Contrarie to this article, the king dooth and sendeth Iustices to Anglesey, who presume to iudge there the men and subjects of the Prince: setting

ſetting fines vpon them, contrarie to the lawes of Wales, ſeeing neither this nor anie like was euer heard in times paſt; impriſoning ſome, outlawing others, when the Prince is at all times readie to doo iuſtice to all men that complaine vpon anie of his men.

6 Where it is in the peace, that Gruffyth Vadhan ſhould doo homage to the king for the land in Yale, and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the kings iuſtices brought the ladie of Maylor, into all the ſaid lands of Edeyrneon. The knowledge of which cauſe onelie pertained to the Prince, and not to the ſaid Iuſtices: and yet for peace ſake, the Prince did tollerate all this, being at all times readie to miniſter iuſtice to the ſaid Ladie.

7 And though the ſaid Prince ſubmitted himſelfe vnto vs and our will, yet we neuertheleſſe will and grant, that our will in no caſe goo furder, than is conteined in thoſe articles. Contrarie to this article, gold was exacted for the Queenes workes at euerie paiment made to the king: which gold was neuer demanded in time of king Henrie, or anie other king of England. Which gold yet for quietnes ſake the Prince paid, though it were not ſpoken of or mentioned in the peace. And now further it is exacted for the old Queene the kings *mother that now is (for the peace concluded with king Henrie)* 2000 marks and a halfe: and vnleſſe it be paid, the king threatneth to occupie the goods and lands of Lhewelyn and his people, which he could find in his realme; and ſell men and beaſts vntill the ſaid ſumme were paid.

8 Item when the king inuited the Prince to his feaſt at Worceſter, promiſing with uerie faire words, that he would giue his kinſewoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honor: neuertheleſſe when he came thither, the ſelfe ſame daie they ſhould be married before Maſſe, the king required a bill to be ſealed by the Prince; conteining amongſt other things that he would neuer keep man againſt the kings will, nor neuer mainteine anie, whereby it might come to paſſe, that all the Princes force ſhould be called from him. The which letter ſealed, he deliuered the king by iuſt feare, which might mooue anie conſtant man; yet was not this conteined in the peace, whereas the concluſion of the peace was, that the king ſhould require nothing that was not conteined in the ſame.

9 Item where in the ſaid peace all cuſtomes be confirmed to the ſaid Prince, as his anceſtors of long and dailie obſerued cuſtome haue receiued to their owne vſe, all wrecks happening vpon his owne lands: the Iuſtice of Cheſter tooke a diſtreſſe of the Prince for goods of ſhipwrecke receiued by him before the warres, contrarie to the forme of the ſaid peace. By the which all treſpaſſes of either ſide were remitted; and contrarie to the cuſtomes before ſaid: and if in caſe it were forfeited, yet he tooke ſuch a diſtreſſe, fifteene pounds of honie, and manie horſſes, and impriſoned his men. And this he tooke of the

the Princes owne proper goods, and further tooke booties of Bagiers which came to Lyrpoole with merchandize, and neuer redeliuered the same, vntill he had taken so much monie for the same, as it pleased him.

10 ITEM when certeine men of Geneurglyn had taken certeine goods of some of their neighbors of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the prince in Meyreon, the kings men of Lhanbadarn did take awaie the said goods out of the said dominion of the Prince: and when the prince his men came thither, and asked the cause why they tooke the said preie: the kings men killed one of them, and wounded other, and the rest they did imprison, neither could the prince get anie iustce for the said goods to this daie.

11 AND where it is conteined in the peace, that all things committed in the Marches, should be redressed in the Marches; yet the kings men would no where heare the princes men, but put them in the castell of Lhanbadarn: which is against the peace aforesaid. In these articles and diuers others, the king standeth sworne to the prince, and to his people. And although the prince as well by himselfe as by his people, haue often requested the king to cause the said peace to be kept, yet was it in no point kept, but dailie the kings Iustices doo more and more heape iniuries and griefs vpon the people of those parts. So that it can not be blamed, if the Prince did assent to them that first began the wars, seeing the oth which the lord Robert Typtost sware for the king, was kept in no point: and cheefiie seeing the prince was forewarned, that he should be taken so soone as the king came to Ruthlan, as he had beene in deede if the king had come thither after Christmasse, as he purposed.

No. IV. & VII.

These greefes folowing were done by the King and his Officers, to the Lord Dauid ap Gruffyth.

WHEN the said Dauid came to the lord Edward then earle of Chester, and did him homage, the said lord Edward did giue by his letters patents to the said Dauid, two Cantreds, Dyffryncluyd, and Ceinmeyrdh, with all the appurtenances: afterward when he was made king he confirmed the said gift to the said Dauid, and gaue him possession of them. Then afterward Guenlhian Lacy died, who held some townes in the said Cantreds for terme of life: which after hir decease apperteined to Dauid, by force of the foresaid grant which townes yet the king tooke from him, contrarie to his letters patents.

2 ITEM, when the said Dauid did hold of the lord the king the villages of Hope and Eston in Wales, of the which he ought to answere no man, but accord-

ing

ing to the lawes of Wales, yet the Iuſtice of Cheſter cauſed the ſaid Dauid to be called to Cheſter, at the ſute of one William Vanable an Engliſh man: to anſwere for the title of the ſaid villages. And although the ſaid Dauid did often and inſtantlie deſire him the ſaid Iuſtice not to proceed againſt him iniuriouſlie in the countie of Cheſter, where he was not bound to anſwere by the forme of the peace: yet he plainlie denied him to be iudged either in Wales or after the lawes of Wales.

3 ITEM, the ſaid Iuſtice of Cheſter to the iniurie of the ſaid Dauid, did cut downe his wood of Lhyweny, and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan, as others: and yet the ſaid Iuſtice had no iuriſdiction in thoſe parts. And not being contented to get timber there, for building, as well for Ruthlan as other places in the countrie, but alſo deſtroied the ſaid woods, ſold it, and carried it into Ireland.

4 ITEM, where the ſaid Dauid tooke certeine outlawes and rouers in the woods, and cauſed them to be hanged: yet the ſaid Iuſtice accuſed Dauid to the king, for ſuccoring and mainteining the theeues aforeſaid: which was not like to be true ſeeing he cauſed them to be hanged.

5 ITEM, it is prouided in the peace, *that all Welſhmen in their cauſes ſhould* be iudged after the lawes of Wales. This was in no point obſerued with the ſaid Dauid and his people. Of theſe foreſaid greefs the ſaid Dauid required often amends, either according to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, or of ſpeciall fauour: but he could neuer obteine anie of them both at his hands. Further, the ſaid Dauid was warned in the kings court, that aſſoone as Reginald Gray ſhould come from the court, the ſaid Dauid ſhould be taken and ſpoiled of his caſtell of Hope, his woods ſhould be cut downe, and his children taken for pledges: who ſeeing he had taken much paines and perill for the king in all his warres as well himſelfe as his people, both in England and in Wales, and had loſt therebie the moſt part of the nobilitie of his countrie, and yet neuertheleſſe could obteine neither iuſtice, amends, nor fauour at his hands, hauing ſuch great wrongs offred vnto him, and fearing his owne life and his childrens, or elſe perpetuall priſon, being enforced, as it were againſt his will, began to defend himſelfe and his people.

No. V.

Articles ſent from the Archbiſhop of Canturburie, to be intimated to Lhewelyn, Prince of Wales, and the People of the ſame Countrie.

BECAUSE we came to thoſe parts for the ſpirituall and temporall health of them whom we haue euer loued well, as diuers of them haue knowne.

2 THAT

2 That we come contrarie to the will of our Lord the king, whom our said comming (as it is said) dooth much offend.

3 That we desire and beseech them, for the bloud of our lord Iesus Christ, that they would come to an vnitie with the English people, and to the peace of our lord the king, which we intend to procure them so well as we can.

4 We will them to vnderstand, that we cannot long tarrie in these quarters.

5 We would they considered, that after our parting out of the countrie, they shall not perhaps find anie that will so tender the preferring of their cause, as we would doo, if it pleased God (with our mortall life) we might procure them an honest, stable and firme peace.

6 That if they doo contemne our petition and labour, we intend foorthwith to signifie their stubbernes to the high bishop, and the court of Rome: for the enormitie that manie waies hapneth by occasion of this discord this daie.

7 Let them know, that vnlesse they doo quicklie agree to a peace, that warre shall be aggrauated against them, which they shall not be able to sustaine, for the kings power increaseth dailie.

The greater cause the more loue.

8 Let them vnderstand that the realme of England is vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome: that the sea of Rome loueth it better than anie other kingdome.

9 That the said sea of Rome will not in anie wise see the state of the realme of England quaile, being vnder speciall protection.

10 That we much lament to heare that the Welshmen be more cruell then Saracens: for Saracens, when they take christians they keepe them to be redeemed for monie. But (they saie) that the Welshmen by and by doo kill all that they take, and are onelie delighted with blood, and sometime cause to be killed them whose ransome they haue receiued.

11 That whereas they were euer woont to be esteemed, and to reuerence God and Ecclesiasticall persons, they seeme much to reuolt from that deuotion: mooning sedition and warre, and committing slaughter, and burning in the holie time. Which is great iniurie to God, wherein no man can excuse them.

12 We desire, that as true christians they would repent, for they cannot long continue their begun discord, if they had sworne it.

13 We will that they signifie vnto vs, how they will or can amend the trouble of the kings peace, and the hurt of the common wealth.

14 That they signifie vnto vs how peace and concord may be established: for in vaine were it to forme peace, to be dailie violated.

15 If they saie that their lawes or couenants be not obserued, that they doo signifie vnto vs which those be.

16 That

16 That granting it that they were iniured, as they saie, (which we no waies doo know) they which were Iudges in the cause might so haue signified to the kings majestie.

17 That vnlesse they will now come to peace, they shall be resisted by decree and censure of the church, besides warre of the people.

No. VI.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods grace Archbishop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, his Humble and deuout Sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth Greeting.

WITH all reuerend submission and honor we yeeld our most humble and hartie thanks vnto your fatherhood, for the great and greeuous paines which at this present for the loue of vs and our nation you haue sustained: and so much the more we are beholden vnto you, for that besides the kings pleasure you would venture to come vnto vs. In that you request vs to come to the kings peace, we would haue your holinesse to know that we are most readie and willing to the same, so that our lord the king will duelie and trulie obserue and keepe the peace towards vs and ours. Moreouer, although we would be glad of your continuance in Wales, yet we hope there shall not be any delaie in vs but that peace (which of all things we most desire and wish for) may be forthwith established, and rather by your trauell and procurement than by any other mans: so that it shall not be needefull to complaine vnto the Pope of our wilfulnes: neither do we despise your fatherhoods requests and painefull trauell, but with all hartie reuerence according to our dutie do accept the same. Neither yet shall it be needefull for the lord the king to vse anie force against vs, seeing we are redie to obeie him in all things, our rights and lawes (as aforesaid) reserued. And although the kingdome of England be vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome, and with speciall loue regarded of the same: yet, when the lord the Pope and the court of Rome shall vnderstand of the great damages which are done vnto vs by the Englishmen, to wit, the articles of the peace concluded and sworne vnto, violated and broken, the robbing and burning of churches, the murthering of ecclesiasticall persons, as well religious as secular; the slaughter of women great with child, and children sucking their mothers brests: the destroieng of hospitals, and houses of religion, killing the men and women professed in the holie places, and euen before the alters: we hope that your fatherhood, and the said court of Rome will rather with pittie lament our case, than with rigour of punishment augment our sorow. Neither shall the kingdome of England be in anie wise disquieted or molested by our

our meanes (as is affirmed) ſo that we may haue the peace dulie kept and obſerued towards vs and our people. Who they be, which are delited with bloodſhed and warre, is manifeſtlie apparant by their deedes and behauiour: for we would liue quietlie vpon our owne if we might be ſuffered, but the Engliſhmen comming to our countrie did put all to the ſword, neither ſparing ſex, age or ſickneſſe, nor any thing regarding churches or ſacred places, the like whereof the Welſhmen neuer committed. That one hauing paid his ranſome was afterward ſlaine, wee are right ſorie to heare of it, neither do we maintaine the offender, who eſcaping our hands keepeth himſelfe as an outlaw in the woods and vnknown places. That ſome began the warre in a time not meete and conuenient, that vnderſtood not we of vntill now: and yet they which did the ſame do affirme, that in caſe they had not done as they did at that time, they had beene ſlaine or takne themſelues, being not in ſafetie in their owne houſes, and forced continuallie for ſafegard of their liues to keepe themſelues in armour: and therefore to deliuer themſelues from that feare, they tooke that enterpriſe in hand. Concerning thoſe things which we commit againſt God: with the aſſiſtance of his grace, we will (as it becommeth Chriſtians) repent and turne vnto him. Neither ſhall the war on our part be continued, ſo that we be ſaued harmleſſe and may liue as we ought: but before we be diſinherited or ſlaine we muſt defend our ſelues as well as we may. Of all iniuries and wrongs done by vs, we are moſt willing and readie (vpon due examination and triall of all treſpaſſes and wrongs committed on both ſides) to make amends to the vttermoſt of our power: ſo that the like on the kings ſide be performed in like manner towards vs and our people: and to conclude and ſtabliſh a peace we are moſt readie: but what peace can be eſtabliſhed when as the kings charter ſo ſolemnlie confirmed, is not kept and performed? Our people are dailie oppreſſed with new exactions: we ſend vnto you alſo a note in writing of the wrongs and iniuries which are done vnto vs contrarie to the forme of the peace before made. We haue put our ſelues in armour, being driuen therevnto by neceſſitie: for we and our people were ſo oppreſſed, troden vnder foote, ſpoiled, and brought to ſlauerie by the kings officers, contrarie to the forme of the peace concluded againſt iuſtice, none otherwiſe than if we were Saracens or Iewes: whereof we haue often times complained vnto the king and neuer could get anie redreſſe: but alwaies thoſe officers were afterwards more fierce and cruell againſt vs. And when thoſe officers through their rauine and extortion were enriched, other more hungrie than they were ſent a freſh to flea thoſe whom the other had ſhorne before: ſo that the people wiſhed rather to die than liue in ſuch oppreſſion. And now it ſhall not be needeful to leuie anie armie to war vpon vs, or to moue the prelats of the church againſt vs, ſo that the peace may be obſerued duelie and trulie, as before is expreſſed. Neither ought your holie fatherhood to giue credit to all that our aduerſaries do allege againſt vs: for euen as in their deeds they haue and do oppreſſe vs, ſo in their words they will not ſticke to ſlander vs, laieng to our charge what liketh them beſt. Therefore, for aſmuch as they

they are alwaies present with you, and we absent from you, they oppressing, and we oppressed, we are to desire you euen for his sake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit mens words but to examine their deeds. Thus we bid your holines farewell. Dated at Garth Celyn, in the feast of S. Martine.

No. VIII.

Greefs and Iniuries offered by the King and his Officers to the Men of Ros.

THIS is the forme of peace, which the king of England did promise the men of Ros before they did him homage, which he promised them to obserue inuiolablie. That is to saie, the king should grant to euerie of them their right and iurisdiction, as they had in time of king Henrie, according as the said men doo report that they had in the time of king Henrie.

2 ITEM the lord the king did promise the said men, that they should haue iustice in their sutes: after granting of the which articles, the said men did homage to the king. And then the king promised them with his owne mouth faithfullie to obserue the said articles. This notwithstanding, a certeine noble man passing by the kings hie waie, with his wife in the kings peace, met certeine English laborers and Masons going to Ruthlan where they did then worke: who attempted by force to take awaie his wife from him, and while he defended hir as well as he could, one of them killed the wife, and he who killed hir with his fellowes were taken: and when the kinred of hir which was slaine required lawe at the Justice of Chesters hands. (for their kinswoman) they were put in prison, and the murtherers were deliuered.

3 ITEM, a certeine man killed a Gentleman who had killed the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn and was taken: but when certeine of the kinred required iustice before the Justice of Chester, certeine of them were imprisoned, the offender set at libertie, and iustice denied to the kinred.

4 ITEM, certeine Gentleman claimed some lands, and offered the king a great peece of monie, to haue iustice by the verdict of good and lawfull men of the countrie (then the lands being adiudged to the claimers) Reginald Gray tooke the same lands, corne, goods, and all vpon the ground, so that they lost their lands, monie, corne and cattell.

5 ITEM, it is our right that no stranger should cut our woods without our leaue: yet this notwithstanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan, that it should be lawfull for all other men to cut downe our woods, but to vs it was forbidden.

6 ITEM, where diuerse honest men had lands of the gift of the said Dauid, the Justice taketh the said mens lands awaie.

7 Item, when anie commeth to Ruthlan with merchandize, if he refuse whatsoeuer anie English man offereth, he is forthwith sent to the castell to prison, and the buier hath the thing, and the king hath the price: then the soldiours of the castell first spoile and beate the partie, and then cause him to pay the porter, and let him go.

8 Item, if anie Welshmen buie anie thing in Ruthlan, and anie English man doo meet him, he will take it from him, and giue him lesse than he paid for it.

9 Item, the king contrarie to his promise made to the men of Ros, hath giuen the territorie of Maynan, Penmayn and Lhysuayn.

10 Item, Certeine Gentlemen of the Cantred of Ros bought certeine offices, and paid their monie for the same: yet the Iustice of Chester tooke the said offices from them without cause.

See this Article againe page 585.

11 Item, Grono ap Heilyn tooke to farme of Godfrey Marliney, the territorie of Maynan and Lhysuayn, for the terme of foure yeares: yet Robert de Cruquer with horses and armes and foure and twentie horssemen, came to vexe the said Grono, so that he had no safe going, neither to Ruthlan nor Chester, without a great garrison of his kindred and freends.

12 Item, certeine Gentlemen were arrested for trespasses doone before the warres and imprisoned, and could not be deliuered vntill they had paied xvi. markes, which was contrarie to the peace concluded.

13 Item, our causes ought to be decided after the custome of our lawes; but our men be compelled to sweare against their consciences, else they be not suffered to sweare: furthermore we spent three hundreth markes in going to the king for iustice in the foresaid articles. And when we beleeued to recouer full iustice, the king sent to our parties the lord Reginald Gray, to whom the king hath set all the lands to farme, to handle the men of the said Cantreds as it pleaseth him: who compelled vs to * sweare in his name, whereas we should sweare in the kings name. And where the kings crosse ought to be erected, he caused his crosse to be erected, in token that he is the verie true lord: and the said lord Reginald at his first comming to those parts of Wales, sold to certeine seruants of the king, offices for lx. markes, which the said seruants bought before of the king for xxiiij. markes: which offices ought not to be sold at the choise of the lord.

14 Item, the king gaue Meredyth ap Madoc a captaineship for his seruice, Reginald Gray tooke it from him: neither could he get anie remedie at the kings hands for the same.

* To sweare by his hand whereas we should sweare by the hand of the king.

15 Item,

15 Item, one of the councell of the ſaid Reginald, Cynwric Vadhan told vs by mouth, that as ſoone as the ſaid Reginald Gray returned to Wales he would take xxiiij. men of everie Cantered, and either behead them or impriſon them perpetuallie.

16 Item, whereas we paid our taxes and rents in old monie halfe a yeare before the comming of new monie, they inforced vs to paie new monie for the old.

These greeſes and the like, the ſaid Reginald offered vs, and threatned that if we would ſend anie to the king to complaine he would behead them: and when we ſent anie to the king, he could neuer ſpeake with the king, but ſpent vs much monie in vaine. For which greefes we beleeue our ſelues free before God, from the oth which we haue made to the king.

No. IX.

These Greefes folowing, the King and his Iuſtices offered to Rees Vachan of Stratywy.

After that the ſaid Rees gaue the king his caſtell of Dyneuowr, ſithence the laſt peace, the ſaid Rees then being in the tent of the lord Payne de Gaderſey, at the ſame time there were ſlaine ſixe Gentlemen of the ſaid Reeſes men, for whom they neuer had amends, which was to him great greefe and loſſe.

2 Item, Iohn Gifford claimed the ſaid Reeſes inheritance at Hiruryn, and the ſaid Rees requeſted the lawe of his countrie of the king, or the lawe of the countie of Caermardhen, in the which countie the anceſtors of the ſaid Rees were woont to haue lawe: when they were of the peace of the Engliſhmen, and vnder their regiment: but the ſaid Rees could haue no lawe, but loſt all his lands. They would haue had him to anſwer in the countie of Hereford, where none of his anceſtors euer anſwered. Further in the lands of the ſaid Rees were ſuch enormities committed, which doo moſt apperteine to the ſtate eccleſiaſticall: that is to ſaie in the church of S. Dauid, which they call Lhangadoc, they made ſtables, and plaid the harlots, and tooke awaie all the goods of the ſaid church, and burning all the houſes, wounded the preeſt of the ſaid church before the high altar, and left him there as dead.

3 Item, in the ſame countrie they ſpoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Lhantredaff, and other churches in other parts: they ſpoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods.

No. X.

No. X.

These be the Greefes which the King and his Iustice gaue to Lhewelyn ap Rees and Howel ap Rees.

AFTER that a forme of peace was concluded betwixt Henrie then king of England, and the prince of Wales, the ſaid king granted and confirmed by his charter to the ſaid Prince the homage of the ſaid noble men, ſo long as they ſtood freends with the prince, according to the ſaid gift and confirmation: but Edward now king diſherited the ſaid Gentelmen of their lands, ſo that they could not haue their owne lands, neither by law nor by fauour.

No. XI.

These be the Greefes doone by the Engliſhmen, to the Sonnes of Meredyth ap Owen.

AFTER that the king had granted the Gentlemen their owne inheritance of Geneurglyn and Creuthyn, he contrarie to the peace diſherited the ſaid Gentelmen: denieng them all lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, and of the countie of Caermardhyn.

2 THE ſaid king in his countie of Caerdigan by his ſaid Iuſtices compelled the ſaid Gentelmen to give iudgement vpon themſelues: where their predeceſſors neuer ſuffered the like of Engliſhmen.

3 THE ſaid Iuſtices of the king haue taken awaie the courtes of the noblemen in Wales, and compelled the people to ſatisfie before them for treſpaſſes: when as they ought to haue ſatisfied by the ſaid nobles.

4 WHEN a wrecke hapneth vpon anie of the grounds of the noble men, whoſe anceſtors had wrecke, they ſhould haue the ſame: yet the king forbiddeth them, and the ſaid king by color of that ſhipwrecke contrarie to their cuſtome and law did condemne them in eight markes, and tooke away all the goods of the ſhipwrecke.

5 THAT none of our men of the countie of Caerdigan dare come amongſt the Engliſhmen, for feare of impriſonment: and if it had not beene for feare of hurt, the nobles would neuer haue ſtirred.

No. XII.

The complaints of the noble Men of Stratalyn, of the Wrongs and Greefes doone to them, by Roger Clifford, and Roger Scrochill Deputie to the ſaid Roger Clifford: contrarie to the Priuilege, Iuſtice and Cuſtome of the ſaid noble Men, as they ſaie and prooue.

WHEN the ſaid Rogers compelled the ſaid men of Stratalyn to giue them (to haue their cuſtomes and priuileges) twentie marks ſtarling, and after the paiement of the monie, they brake by and by after this ſort, to put vpon twelue men according to the lawes of England, which was neuer the manner nor cuſtome of the ſaid countrie.

2 ITEM, Madoc ap Blethyn was condemned in foure markes vniuſtlie, contrarie to the lawes and vſe of the countrie.

3 ITEM, Grono Goch was likewiſe condemned in fiue marks and twelue beaſts, contrarie to the cuſtome of the countrie.

4 ITEM, the ſaid Rogers tooke the lands of the men of the countrie as forfeit: and for one foote of a ſtag found in a dogs mouth, three men were ſpoiled of all that they had.

5 ITEM, Ithel ap Gwyſty was condemned in a great ſum of monie, for the fact of his father done fourtie yeares before.

6 ITEM, the ſaid Rogers laid vpon vs the finding of all the Engliſh ſoldiours, whereof before there was but one halfe.

7 ITEM, we were giuen to maiſter Maurice de Cruny, and were ſold to Roger Clifford: which was neuer ſeene in our parents time.

8 ITEM, the widow of Robert of the Mowld aſked of the king the third part of the land in the Mowld in ward: whereas it was iudged before the king, that the ſaid lands were neuer giuen in ward.

No. XIII.

Theſe be the Articles of Greefes doone to the Men of Penlhyn, by the Conſtable of Henrie Chambers of the white Abbie, and his Men.

CYNWRIC AP MADOC was ſpoiled by them in time of peace, of eight pound, foure oxen, corne the worke of one plough for two yeares, and to the value of three pound, of three of his men, and they had the worth of xvi. pound for the ſaid eight pound, and did beate him beſides: which was more wrong, for then he was the princes conſtable at Penlhyn. And all the cauſe that they

they pretended to make this ſpoile, was onelie that they ſaid they had found foure and twentie ſheafes of tyth in the houſe of a ſeruant of the ſaid Cynwric.

2 Item, Adam Criwr was condemned in eight ſhillings eight pence, and a mare, price twentie ſhillings, and was taken and beaten, for that he had taken the ſtealer of that mare, and brought him bound with him, the which theefe was forthwith deliuered.

3 Item, Iorwerth ap Gurgeneu was condemned in foure pound, for that he had ſcaped out of their priſon in time of the warres, and was found in the ſaid towne in the time of peace, and this is directlie againſt the peace concluded betwixt the king and the Prince.

4 Item, Caduan Dhu ſeruant to the conſtable of Penlhyn was condemned, bicauſe he would not receiue the old monie for new.

5 Item, Gruffyth ap Grono the Princes man was ſpoiled of an oxe, price eleuen ſhillings eight pence, and after that the conſtable had plowed with the ſaid oxe ſeuen monthes, he paid to the ſaid Gruffyth for the ſaid oxe, three ſhillings foure pence.

6 Item, two ſeruants of one named Y Bongam were ſpoiled of two pounds, for that they tooke a theefe that robbed them by night, and yet the theefe was deliuered.

7 Item, Eneon ap Ithel was taken, beaten, and ſpoiled of two oxen, price foure and twentie ſhillings and two pence, for this cauſe onelie, that the ſaid oxen went from one ſtreete to an other in the towne.

8 Item, Guyan Mayſtran was ſpoiled of his monie, becauſe a certeine merchant of Ardudwy owed them certeine things, and yet the ſaid merchant was not of their bailiwicke.

No. XIV.

The Greefes of Grono ap Heilyn.

A TENANT of Grono ap Heilyn was called to the kings court without anie cauſe: then Grono came at the daie appointed to defend his tenant, and demanded iuſtice for him, or the law which the men of his countrie did vſe: all this being denied, the ſaid tenant was condemned in ſeuen and twentie pound, i. d. ob. Then the ſaid Grono went to London for iuſtice, which was promiſed him, but he could neuer haue anie, where he ſpent in his iournie fifteene markes.

2 A certeine Gentleman was ſlaine, who had foſtered the ſonne of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan caſtell: then the ſaid Grono and the kindred of him that was ſlaine aſked iuſtice, but

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ſome of them were impriſoned, and the killer diſcharged. Then Grono went againe to London for iuſtice which the king did promiſe him, but he neuer had anie, but ſpent twentie markes.

3 The third time Grono was faine to go to London for iuſtice in the premiſſes: where he ſpent xviij. markes, vj. s. viij. d. And then likewiſe the king promiſed him that he ſhould haue iuſtice: but when he certeinelie beleeued to haue iuſtice, then Reginald Gray came to the countrie and ſaid openlie, that he had all doings in that countrie by the kings charters: and tooke away all Bailiwicks, which the king had giuen the ſaid Grono and ſold them at his pleaſure: then the ſaid Grono aſked iuſtice of the ſaid Reginald, but he could not be heard.

4 The ſaid Grono tooke to farme for foure yeares of Godfrey Marliney, Maynan and Lhysfayn, then Robert Cruquer came with his horſſes, and armes to get the ſaid lands by force, and for that Grono would not ſuffer him to haue the ſaid lands before his yeares came out, he was called to the law, and then the ſaid Reginald Gray came with xxiiij. horſſemen, to take the ſaid Grono. And for that they could not that daie haue their purpoſe, they called Grono the next daie to Ruthlan: and then Grono had counſell not to go to Ruthlan. Then they called him againe to anſwere at Caerwys, but the ſaid Grono durſt not go thither, but by the conduct of the biſhop of S. Aſaph, for that Reginald Gray was there and his men in harneſſe.

5 For theſe greefes for the which he could get no iuſtice, but labour and expenſes, of liiij. markes and more, and for that he durſt not in his owne perſon go to the court, he ſent letters, one to the king, an other to his brother Lhewelyn, to ſignifie to the king that he ſhould looſe all the fauour of the countrie, if he kept no promiſe with them, and ſo it came to paſſe, becauſe the men of Ros and Englefild could get no iuſtice, the king neglecting the correction of theſe things, loſt the whole countrie.

No. XV.

Humblie ſheweth to your Holines, Lord Archbiſhop of Canturburie, Primate of all England, the noble Men of Tegengl: that when the ſaid noble Men did their Homage to the Lord Edward, King of England, the ſaid King promiſed them to defend them and their Goods; and that they ſhould vſe all Kind of Right, Priuilege, and Iuriſdiction, which they did vſe in Time of King Henrie, of the Graunt of the ſaid King, whereof they were after ſpoiled.

First they were ſpoiled of their right and priuileges and cuſtomes of the countrie: and were compelled to be iudged by the lawes of England, whereas the

the tenor of that their priuilege was to be iudged according to the lawes of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the best men of the countrie were taken, bicause they desired to be iudged at Tref Edwyn, according to the tenor of their priuileges, by the lawes of Wales.

2 WHATSOEUER one Iustice dooth, his successor dooth reuerse the same: for in Dauids cause Reginald Gray reuoked that, which his predecessor confirmed and allowed.

3 IF he doo take anie Gentleman of the countrie, he will not let him go vpon suertie, which he ought to doo.

4 IF anie Gentleman be brought to the castell of the Flynt, vpon small accusation, and his cattell withall; they can neither be deliuered, nor haue delaie, vntill they giue the constable an oxe, and vntill they paie three pound fees to Cynwric for the hauing of the delaie.

5 REGINALD GRAY gaue the lands of the men of Merton to the Abbot and couent of Basingwerke, against the lawes of Wales and the custome of the countrie, and contrarie to the forme of the peace betwixt prince Lhewelyn and the king; that is to saie, xvi. Caratatas terræ.

6 THE noble and best of the countrie be iniured for that the king builded the castell of Flynt vpon their ground: and the king commanded the Iustices to giue the men as much and as good ground or the price. But they are spoiled of their lands, and haue neither other lands nor monie.

7 REGINALD GRAY will not suffer men to cut their owne wood, vntill he haue both monie and reward, and vntill they paie for it also; but permitteth others to cut it downe freelie, which they ought not to doo by the lawes and customes of Wales.

8 WHERE the men of Cyrchynan couenant with the king to giue the king halfe a medow, of condition the king should not suffer the woods to be cut downe, Howel ap Gruffyth being present: yet Reginald Gray hath broken the same, permitting euerie man to cut their woods, and spoile them also of their medowe.

9 THE sonne of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan, and put in prison without anie cause at all: neither would the kings officers deliuer him, vnlesse he would redeeme the gage of a certeine woman, for the which he was constrained to paie much more than the pawne laie for.

10 WHEN the bailiffe of Ruthlan was at a feast, Hicken le Maile wounded a Gentleman cruellie in the presence of the said bailiffe: by the occasion of which wound, Hicken was condemned in eight pound, and when he which was hurt would haue demanded the said eight pound, he was put in prison with Hicken.

11 THE messengers of Reginald Gray attempted an absurditie not heard of, requiring the people of the countrie to plow his ground, and sowe the same: and the messengers were Cynwric Says and Hicken Lemayl, and the said Cynwric

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ſware openlie before the whole companie, that vnleſſe all men ſhould plow Reginald Grayes ground, they ſhould ſhortlie repent it: then the people feared much, as in that caſe anie conſtant man would feare.

12 The heires of Tegengl bought their offices for xxx. markes of the king. But afterward Reginald Gray ſpoiled them of their offices and monie, againſt the lawes and cuſtomes of England.

13 Seauen Gentlemen were wrongfullie killed by the Engliſhmen, but as yet the parents of the Gentlemen can haue no amends: and though the offenders were taken, yet the ſaid conſtable let them go without puniſhment.

14 The conſtable of Ruthlan kept two of the kings ſoldiours in priſon, for that they tooke an Engliſhman, who had wounded a man.

All theſe things conteined in theſe articles are contrarie to the priuilege, libertie and right of the ſaid men, and contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales: neither dare the inhabitants ſend their complaints to the king for feare of Reginald Gray (which feare anie conſtant man might haue) becauſe the ſaid Reginald Gray ſaid openlie, that if he could come by anie ſuch their meſſengers, he would cut off *their heads, as it is certeinelie told vs by one* of his counſell: further neither toong can expreſſe, nor penne can write, how euill the men of Tegengl haue beene ordered.

Humblie complaineth vnto your lordſhip, my lord Archbiſhop of Canturburie Primate of all England, Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc, of the conſtable of Oſwaldes Croſſe, the king and of the men of that towne, who haue ſpoiled the ſaid Lhewelyn of the third part of a towne called Lhedrot, and his fathers houſe without anie law, or right, or cuſtome of the countrie. Further the ſaid Conſtable and his complices haue againſt the lawes and the cuſtome of the countrie ſpoiled the ſaid Lhewelyn of the common and paſturage, which he and his predeceſſors haue had and vſed time out of mind: and further condemned the ſaid Lhewelyn for the ſaid paſture in lxx. markes. And further the king of England granted certeine letters to a baſtard called Gruffyth Vachan of Cynlhaeth, to law with the ſaid Lhewelyn for his whole lordſhip and poſſeſſions; by the occaſion of the which letters, the ſaid Lhewelyn hath ſpent two hundreth pound of good monie.

Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc.

Also the ſaid Conſtable compelled the ſaid Lhewelyn to ſend two of his Gentlemen to him, whom when they came to him he cauſed to be hanged, which Gentlemen ought not by right to haue beene hanged, whoſe parents had rather haue giuen him three hundreth pounds.

Afterward the ſaid Conſtable impriſoned threeſcore of the men of the ſaid Lhewelyn (no cauſe alledged) but that a certeine Page ſpake a word: who could not be deliuered out of priſon, vntill euerie of them paid ten ſhillings.

When the men of the ſaid Lhewelyn came to the ſaid towne to ſell their oxen, the ſaid Conſtable would cauſe the beaſts to be driuen to the caſtell: neither would he reſtore the beaſtes nor monie for them. Further, the ſaid Conſtable and his men tooke awaie the cattell of the ſaid Lhewelyn from his owne ground, and did their will with them.

Further the kings Iuſtices compelled the ſaid Lhewelyn, contrarie to the law and cuſtome of Wales, to deliuer to the ſonnes of Eneon ap Gruffyth, a certeine towne which both he and his anceſtors euer had held. The ſaid Conſtable tooke the horſſe of Lhewelyns Bailiff: when the ſaid Bailiff owed him nothing, who could neuer get his horſſe againe, nor anie ſatisfaction for it.

Furthermore when the ſaid Lhewelyn ſhould haue gone to a towne called Caerlhêon to appeare there as he was appointed, the ſonnes of Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, and the ſoldiours of Roger Strainge, by the counſell of the ſaid Roger, tooke the ſaid Lhewelyn and his men, and impriſoned them, to their great damage; which the ſaid Lhewelyn would not for 300. pound ſtarling, who could by no meanes be deliuered, vntill they had found ſufficient ſuerties.

The Archbiſhop receiuing theſe and other articles, came to the king, and requeſted him to conſider theſe wrongs, and to cauſe amends to be made, or at the leaſt excuſe the Welſhmen hauing ſo iuſt cauſe of greefe. Who anſwered that the Welſhmen were to be excuſed: yet he ſaid he was euer readie to doo iuſtice to all them that complained. Wherevpon the Archbiſhop beſought the king againe, that the Welſhmen might haue free acceſſe to his Grace to declare their greefes, and to ſeeke remedie: the king anſwered they ſhould freelie come and depart, if it ſhould ſeeme that by iuſtice they deſerued to depart.

The Archbiſhop hearing this, went and came to the Prince of Wales in Snowdon, that he might mooue him and his brother Dauid, and the other companie to ſubmit themſelues: whereby he might incline the king to admit them. Which after much talke and conference with the Archbiſhop, the Prince anſwered that he was readie to ſubmit himſelfe to the king, reſeruing two things: that is to ſay, his conſcience, which he ought to haue for the rule and ſafegard of his people: and alſo the decencie of his ſtate and calling. Which anſwere the Archbiſhop brought, and reported to the king. At the which the king ſaid, that he would not anie other treatie of peace, than that the Prince and his people ſhould ſimplie ſubmit themſelues. But the Archbiſhop (knowing well that the Welſhmen would not ſubmit themſelues but in the forme aforeſaid, or in other forme to them tollerable and of them liked) requeſted the king, that he might haue conference in this matter with all the noble Engliſhmen then preſent: who after ſuch conference agreed all to theſe articles following. The which articles the Archbiſhop did ſend in writing to the Prince, by Iohn Wallenſis.

Conſcientia de ſalute populi. 2. Decorum.

No. XVI.

No. XVI.

These are to be said to the Prince before his Councell.

FIRST that of the foure Cantreds and the lands by the king giuen to his nobles, and the Isle of Anglesey, he will haue no treatie of.

2 ITEM, of the tenants of the foure Cantreds if they will submit themselues, he purposeth to doo as becommeth a kings majestie: and we verelie beleeue he will deale with them mercifullie, and to that end we will labour and trust to obtaine.

3 As touching the lord Lhewelyn we can haue none other answer, but that he shall submit himselfe simplie to the king: and we beleeue certeinlie he will deale mercifullie with him, and to that end we trauell all we can, and verilie beleeue to be heard.

No. XVII.

These following are to be said to the Prince in Secret.

FIRST, that the nobilitie of England haue conceiued this forme of fauorable peace, that the lord Lhewelyn should submit himselfe to the king: and the king should honorablie prouide for him a thousand pound starling, and some honorable countie in England. So that the said Lhewelyn would put the the king in quiet possession of Snowdon: and the king will prouide honorablie for the daughter of Lhewelyn, according to the state and condecencie of his owne bloud, and to these they hope to persuade the king.

2 ITEM, if it happen that Lhewelyn marrie a wife, and to haue by hir anie heire male, they trust to intreate the king, that the same heire male and his heires for euer shall haue the same thousand pound and countie.

3 ITEM, to the people subiect to the said Lhewelyn the king will prouide, as becommeth their estates and condition, and to that the king is well inclined.

No. XVIII.

These are to be said to Dauid Brother to Lhewelyn in Secret.

FIRST, that if for the honor of God (Iuxta debitum crucis assumptæ) he will go to the holie land, he shall be prouided for according to his degree; so that he doo not returne, vnlesse he be called by the king: and we trust to entreat the king, to prouide for his child.

2 And these things we tell our selues to the Welshmen, that a great deale greater perill dooth hang ouer them, than we told them by mouth when we were with them: these things which we write seeme greeuous, but it is a great deale more greeuous to be oppressed with armes, and finallie to be rooted out, bicause euerie daie more and more their danger dooth increase.

3 Item, it is more hard to be alwaies in warre, in anguish of mind, and danger of bodie, alwaies sought and besieged, and so to die in deadlie sinne, and continuall rancor and malice.

4 Item, we feare (whereof we be sorie) vnlesse you doo agree to peace, we most certeinlie will aggrauate the sentence Ecclesiasticall against you for your faults: of the which you can not excuse your selues, whereas yee shall find both grace and mercie, if you will come to peace.

And send vs your answer of these in writing.

No. XIX.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods Grace Archbishop of Canturburie, and Primate of all England, his obedient Sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth greeting.

Most hartily with all reuerence and honor we are content and readie holie father as you haue counselled vs, to submit our selues vnto the kings Grace, so it be in that forme that shall be safe and honest for vs: but because that forme of submission conteined in the articles which were sent vnto vs, is neither safe, nor honest, as we and our councell do thinke (at the which articles all men do maruell:) tending rather to the destruction of vs and our people, than anie securitie and honest dealing, we may in no wise yeeld our assent vnto it, and if we should so doo, our nobles and people would not agree to the same, knowing the mischeefe and inconuenience that is like to ensue thereof. Neuerthelesse, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that for the reformation of a decent, honest and firme peace (for the which you haue taken so great paines) you doo circumspectlie prouide, hauing respect vnto the articles which we send vnto you in writing. It is more honorable for the king, and more agreeable to reason that we should hold our lands in the countrie where wee dwell, than that wee should be disinherited, and our lands giuen to other men. Dated at Garth Celyn.

No. XX.

The Anſwers of the Welſhmen.

FIRST, though the lord the king will haue no treatie of the foure Cantreds the lands that he gaue his nobles, nor the Iſle of Angleſey: yet the Princes councell will no peace to be made, vnleſſe treatie be had of them. For that the foure Cantreds be of the more tenure of the Prince, where alwaies the Princes of Wales had more right, ſince the time of Camber the ſonne of Brutus: ſo that they be of the principalitie of Wales. The confirmation of the which the Prince obtained by Otobonus the Popes legate in England, by the conſent of the king and his father: as it doth appeare by the letters patents. And more iuſt and equall it is, that our heires doo hold the ſaid Cantreds of the king for monie and vſed ſeruice, than the ſame to be giuen to ſtrangers, which abuſe the people by force and power.

2 All the tenants of all the Cantreds of Wales altogither doo ſaie, that they dare not ſubmit themſelues to the king, to doo his pleaſure. Firſt, for that the king kept neither couenant, nor oth, nor grant by charter from the beginning, to the Prince or his people. Secondlie, for that the kings men doo cruellie exerciſe tyrannie towards the Church and Churchmen. Thirdlie, that they be not bound to anie ſuch matter, ſeeing they be the Princes tenants: who is readie to doo vſed and accuſtomed ſeruice, and to obey the king, with and by the ſaid ſeruice.

3 To that which is ſaid, that the Prince ſhould ſimplie commit himſelfe to the kings will, it is anſwered, that none of vs all dare come to the king, for the cauſes aforeſaid, we altogither will not ſuffer our Prince to come in that maner.

4 ITEM, where the great men of England would procure a prouiſion of a thouſand pounds a yeare in England: let it be anſwered, that ſuch prouiſion is not to be accepted, for that it is procured by them, who go about to diſinherit the Prince to haue his lands in Wales.

5 ITEM, the Prince ought not to diſmiſſe his inheritance, and his predeceſſors in Wales, ſince the time of Brutus, and confirmed by the ſea apoſtolike, as is aforeſaid, and to take lands in England, where he knoweth neither toong, maners, lawes nor cuſtoms, wherein he ſhall be ſoone trapped by his neighbours the Engliſhmen, his old malicious enimies, wherby he ſhould loſe the land too.

6 ITEM, ſeeing the king goeth about to depriue him of his ancient inheritance, it is not like that he would ſuffer him to poſſeſſe lands in England, where he claimeth no right; ſeeing that the princes lands in Wales of his owne inheritance is but barren and vntilled, it is leſſe like the king would ſuffer him to enioie good fertile ground in England.

7 ITEM,

7 ITEM, the Prince ſhould giue the king poſſeſſion of Snowdon for euer. Let it be anſwered, that ſeeing that Snowdon is of the appurtenances of the principalitie of Wales, which the Prince and his predeceſſors held ſince the time of Brute (as it is before ſaid) his councell will not ſuffer him to renounce that place, and to take in England a place leſſe due vnto him.

8 ITEM, the people of Snowdon doo ſaie, that although the Prince would giue the king poſſeſſion of it, yet they would neuer doo homage to ſtrangers: of whoſe toong, maners, and lawes they ſhould be ignorant. For ſo they ſhould be foreuer captiued and cruellie handled, as the Cantreds haue beene by the kings bailiffes and other the kings men handled more cruellie than Sarracens, as it dooth well appeare by the notes of their greefes, which the men of the Cantreds ſent to you holie father.

No. XXI.

Theſe are to be anſwered for Dauid, the Princes Brother.

WHEN he is diſpoſed to ſee the holie land, he will doo it for Gods ſake voluntarilie, not by ſuch inforcement againſt his will: for he intendeth not to go on pilgrimage after that ſort. Bicauſe he knoweth enforced ſeruice not to pleaſe God; and if he hereafter ſhall for deuotion ſee the holie land, that is no cauſe for euer to diſinherit his offspring, but rather to reward them.

AND for that neither the prince nor his people, for countrie nor for gaines, did mooue warre, inuading no mans lands, but defending their owne lands, lawes, and liberties; and that the king and his people of inueterate hatred, and for couetouſnes to get our lands inuading the ſame, mooued warre: wee therefore ſee our defenſe is iuſt and lawfull, and herein wee truſt God will helpe vs, and will turne his reuenge vpon deſtroiers of churches; who haue rooted vp and burned churches, and taken out both all ſacraments and ſacred things from them, killing preeſts, clarkes, religious, lame, dombe, deaffe, yonglings ſucking their mothers paps, weake and impotent, both man and woman, and committing all other enormities, as partlie it appeareth to your holineſſe. Wherefore God forbid that your holineſſe ſhould fulminate ſentence againſt anie, but ſuch as hath doone ſuch things. We who haue ſuffered all theſe things at the kings officers hands, doo hope at your hands remedie and comfort: and that you will puniſh ſuch church robbers and killers, who can defend themſelues no waies, leaſt their impunitie be cauſe and example for others to do the like. Uerie manie in our countrie doo much maruell that you counſelled vs to leaue our owne land, and to go to an other mans lands among our enimies to liue: for ſeeing we cannot haue peace in our owne land, which is our owne right, much leſſe ſhould we be quiet in an other mans, amongſt our enimies. And though it be hard to liue in warre aud perill, harder

harder it is to be vtterlie destroied and brought to nothing: especiallie for christians, seeking else nothing but to defend our owne, being by necessitie driuen therevnto, and the greedie ambition of our enimies.

And your holinesse told vs, that you had fulminated sentence against all that for hatred or gaines doo hinder the peace. And it appeareth euidentlie who doo war for these causes, the feare of death, the feare of imprisonment, the feare of perpetuall prison, the feare of disinheriting, no keeping of promise, couenant, grant, nor charter, tyrannicall dominion, and manie more like compell vs to be in warre, and this we shew to God and to your lordship, desiring your godlie and charitable helpe.

Furthermore, if anie in England haue offended the king (as manie doo offend him) yet none of them be disinherited: so if anie of vs haue offended the king, let him be punished and make satisfaction, as he maie, without exhereditating. As we trust in you, we praie you holie Father to labour to this end. If they laie to vs that we breake the peace, it appeareth euidentlie that they and not we breake the same, who neuer kept promise, nor couenant, nor order, made anie amends for trespasses, nor remedie for our complaints.

Rex omnibus, &c.

SCIATIS quod cum Lewelinus princeps de Aberffraw & dominus Snawerden, nobis concesserit & firmiter promiserit, quod stabit provisioni venerabilium patrum Redulphi Cicestrensis episcopi & cancellarii nostri, & Alexandri Conventrensis & Lichfield episcopi, & dilectorum & fidelium nostrorum Richardi Mareschalli comitis Pembroch, Joannis de Lascy comitis Lincolniæ & constabularri Cestriæ, Stephani de Segrave Justiciarii nostri Angliæ, & Radulphi filii Nicholai Seneschalli nostri, una cum Idnevet Seneschallo ipsius Lewelini & Werrenoc fratre ejus, Imano Vachan & David Clerico, quam ipsi facturi sunt super congruis emendis nobis faciendis, de omnibus excessibus nobis & nostris, ab eo & suis factis & de restitutione nobis & hominibus nostris faciendâ de omnibus terris & possessionibus nostris & nostrorum per ipsum Lewelinum & Wallenses occupatis, occasione Werræ inter nos & ipsum motæ; simul etiam de recipienda restitutione a nobis & nostris, de omnibus terris ipsius Lewelini & hominum suorum per nos & nostros occupatis, occasione Werræ prædictæ, & de assignando David filio ipsius Lewelini & Isabellæ uxori ejus primogenitæ filiæ & hæreredis. Gullielmi de Breus, rationabili portione ipsam Isabellam contingente, de terris quæ fuerunt prœdicti Gullielmi partis sui, & de refusione pecuniæ nobis, facienda,

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pro prædictis excessibus congrue emendandis & portione prædicta assignanda; provisa tamen super hoc ab eisdem sufficiente securitate de fideli seruitio nobis præstando & de tranquilitate nobis & regno nostro Angliæ, observanda. Ita quod dampnum vel periculum, nec nobis nec regno nostro inde possit evenire. Et si pendente provisione prædicta, aliquid de novo emerserit emandandum, idem Lewelinus voluerit & concessirit, quod per prædictos provisores emendetur. Nos provisionem eorundem quam facturi sunt super omnibus præmissis, gratam habemus & acceptam pro nobis, & nostris sicut præfatus Lewelinus pro se & suis & in hujus rei testimonium has literas patentes inde fieri fecimus. Teste me ipso apud Salop septimo die Decembris & decimo septimo anno regni nostri.

Rex, &c.

LEWELINO principi de Aberfraw salutem. Sciatis quod recipimus in gratiam nostram, Gilbertum Mareschallum & omnes qui fuerunt imprisii Richardi Mareschalli tam de Angliâ quam de Walliâ qui ad pacem nostram venire voluerunt & eis reddidimus omnes terras & tenementa sua quæ de nobis tenuerunt, & de quibus dissessiti fuerunt occasione guerræ motæ inter nos & prædictum comitem, & nobis remanent quieta quæcunque super nos & nostros per prædictum comitem, vel suos imprisios occupata fuerunt quæ vobis duximus significanda. Volentes quod vobis innotescant quæ penes nos acta sunt in hac parte, & quia per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & co-episcopos suos captæ sunt treugæ inter nos & vos sub firma spe tractandi de pace inter nos & vos formanda & fortius firmanda. Mittimus propter hoc prædictum archiepiscopum & venerabiles patres Alexandrum Coventrensem & Lichfieldensem & Henricum Roffensem co episcopos suos ad partes marchiæ; ita quod erunt apud Salop die Lunæ in crastino sanctæ trinitatis: et rogamus vos quatenus sicut nostram desideratis amicitiam non omittatis quin in crastino die Martis loco tuto & competenti, quem prædictus archiepiscopus vobus significabit ipsi archiepiscopo & coepiscopus suis occuratis ad tractatum cum eis habendum super præmissis. In quorum etiam ore quædam quæ non duximus scripto commendanda posuimus vobis plenius exponenda; rogantes quatinus sicut decet taliter ea quæ reformationem pacis respiciunt & quæ ipsi plenius in hac parte vobis explicabunt audire cum effectu & eisdem adquiescere velitis, quod non stet per vos quin firmum & stabile pacis vinculum inter nos & vos roboretur ad nostrum pariter & vestrum commodum & honorem.

Rex, &c.

DILECTO & fideli suo Richardo comiti Cornubiæ & Pictaviæ salutem. Sciatis quod treugæ captæ sunt inter nos & Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw per venerabilem patrem Edmundum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem & episcopos

secum

fecum adjuntos & quofdam alios fideles noftros propter hoc ad partes Walliæ deftinatos duraturæ a fefto Sancti Jacobi anno regni noftri decimo octavo ufque in duos annos fequentes in hac forma. Quod omnes injuriæ & damnæ hinc inde facta infra ultimam treugam captam per venerabilem patrem Henricum Roffenfem epifcopum in media quadregiffima proximo præterita per dictatores ejufdem treugæ emendabuntur, quod omnes terræ hinc inde occupatæ per ultimam guerram motam, reftituentur his quibus poftea fint oblatæ, homines etiam illi qui hinc inde recefferint a fidelitate dominorum fuorum & fe tenuerunt ex parte adverfa libere revertantur. Ita quidem quod durantibus treugis prædictis in nullo occafionabuntur nec aliquid dampni vel mali eis fiet occafione prædicta. Adjectum eft etiam in eadem provifione treugarum; quod fi vos & dilectus & fidelis nofter Radulphus de Thorny nolueritis fub eifdem treugis comprehendi bene placebit eidem Lewelino. Sin autem nihilominus, quod ad nos & alios fideles noftros eas firmiter obfervabit. Et fub tali conditione quod fi forte tenere non velletis contra vos fe defendet. Ita quod contra ipfum & defenfionem fuam nullum vobis faciemus nec facere poterimus per nos vel per aliquem de marchia vel alium interim confilium vel auxilium ad ipfum gravandum, & taliter funt treugæ prædictæ ex parte ipfius Lewelini juratæ & affecuratæ & in adventu prædicti archiepifcopi ad nos fimiliter ex parte noftra eas jurari faciemus & affecurari, & ideo vobis *mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus prædictis* treugis fine difficultate aliquâ adguiefcentes eas teneatis & ex parte veftra eas teneri faciatis. Quia modis omnibus volumus quod eas teneatis & firmiter obfervetis. Quid autem inde facere propofueritis aperte refponfum veftrum nobis fub feftinatione fcire-faciatis. Tefte rege apud Weftmonafterium tricefimo die Junii.

Radolphus Herefordenfis epifcopus, decanus Herefordiæ, Walterus de Clifford & Walterus de Bello Campo iterum conftituti funt dictatores emendarum, faciendarum & recipiendarum de interceptionibus factis, ut dicitur Lewelino principi de Aberfraw, &c. et Morganô de Carleon quoad caftrum Carleon & eifdem dictatoribus affociati funt prior de Wenloc & Joannes extraneus & debent convenire in craftino claufi Pafchæ apud vadum de Montgomery ad confequendum quod priore die ad hoc conftituto debuiffet fuiffe executum. Tefte rege apud Northamton fexto die Martii.

Rex omnibus ad quod præfentes literæ pervenerint. Sciatis quod conceffimus bona fide & fine malo ingenio & ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Theokfburiam die Veneris in fefto Sancti Benedicti, anno regni noftri vicefimo per venerabilem patrem Edmundum Cantuarienfem archiepifcopum inter nos et omnes homines et imprifios noftros apertos ex una parte, et Lewelinum principem de Aberfraw et dominum de Snaudan et omnes homines et imprifios fuos

ſuos apertos tam Wallenſes quam alios ex alia parte duraturos a feſto Sancti Jacobi, anno eodem uſque in unum annum completum. Ita ſcilicet quod tam nos et noſtri quam prædictus Lewelinus et ſui ſimus in eiſdem terris et tenementis, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuimus prædicto die captionis treugarum iſtarum. Salva Morgano de Carleon reſtitutione ſua tam de terris quam de bonis et mobilibus ſuis quæ comes Gilbertus Mareſchallus occuparerat, ſuper eum infra treugas alias inter nos et ipſum Lewelinum ultimo captas. Siquid autem interim fuerit foris factum per captionem terrarum vel caſtrorum vel bonorum mobilium et manifeſtum de captione terrarum vel caſtrorum illorum terræ; et caſtra ſtatim reddantur non expectata aliqua correctione emendatorum treugæ, ſed de bonis mobilibus ita captis per ipſos corrctores fiant emendæ, treugis nihilominus durantibus in ſuâ firmitate in forma prædicta. Ita quod hinc inde nulla namia capiantur pro aliqua interceptione facta infra treugas iſtas de bonis mobilibus, nec pro aliqua contentione ante captionem hujus treugæ orta, ſed per ipſos corrctores fiant. Nullus etiam receptet in poteſtate ſuâ impriſios alterius inde emendæ ſicut prædictum eſt durantibus treugis. Nullum etiam caſtrum novum firmetur in marchia vel dirutum reficiatur durantibus treugis, et terræ ſint communes ſecundum formam treugarum quæ ultimo captæ fuerunt inter nos et ipſum Lewelinum. Juraverunt autem in animam noſtram ex parte noſtra in hanc treugam bona fide, et ſine malo ingenio fideliter obſervandam uſque ad prædictum terminum dilicti et fideles noſtri Henricus de Aldithely. Joannes Leſtrange et Henricus de Stafford, in cujus, &c. Teſte me ipſo apud Theokeſburiam, undecimo die Julii, anno regni noſtri viceſimo.

Sciant præſentes et futuri, quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illuſtrem ex una parte, et David filium Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et dominum de Aberfraw ex altera, apud Glouceſtriam die Martis proximo anto feſtum Sancti Dunſtanni, anno regni ipſius regis viceſimo quarto, de homagio ipſius David quod ipſe offerrebat eidem domino regi pro jure ſuo Norwalliæ et de terris quas barones ipſius domini regis ſcilicet Griffinus filius Wennuwan et alii barones domini regis petebant verſus ipſum David ut jura ſua excepta de monte alto ſecundum quod continetur in ſcripto nuper confecto apud crucem Griffini per Seneſchallos domini regis, quæ ad præſens excipitur ab arbitrio, ſalvo tamen in poſterum jure ſeneſchalli Ceſtriæ in terra illa ſi quod habent. Scilicet, quod prædictus dominus rex cepit homagium præfati David de prædicto jure ſuo Norwalliæ, et quod tam idem dominus rex pro præfatis baronibus ſuis de conſcenſu eorundem quam præfatus David pro ſe et ſuis et hæredibus eorum ſuper omnibus terris prædictis ſe ſubmiſerunt, arbitrio venerabilium patrum Ottonis Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconi, cardinalis apoſtolici ſedis legati; Wigorniæ et Noriveci epiſcoporum, et nobilis viri Richardi comitis Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ, fratris ipſius domini regis, et Joannis de Monemue ex parte ipſius domini regis, et venerabilis patris epiſcopi de Sancto Aſaph Idnevet Vaghan, Eynguan

guan Vaghan ex parte præfati David. Ita quod quomodo libet ab ipsis omnibus vel à majori parte eorundem, super præmissis fuerit arbitratum, utraque pars ipsorum stabit arbitrio et illud in perpetuum firmiter observabit; et ad hæc fideliter sine fraude servanda Gulielmus de Cantelupo de præcepto regis juravit in animam ipsius regis et idem David in propria persona sua corporate præstitit sacramentum. Et insuper se submiserunt jurisdictioni et inordinationi præfati domini legati quamdiu in Anglia legationis fungatur officio, ut partem contra præmissa venientem per censuram ecclesiasticam modis omnibus quibus melius viderit expedire, tam ad prædictum arbitrium observandum quam ad transgressionem contra illud perpetratam emendandam valeat coercere, ordine juris observato. Dum tamen idem David vel sui, si forsitan contra prædicta venire presumpserint prius coram dicto domino legato vel aliquibus aliis ad hoc ab ipso deputandis et partibus merito non suspectis in confinio marchiæ loco eidem David et suis tuto legitime communicantur, si ad hoc vocati venirent: vel si legitimè vocati non venerint pro contumacibus habeantur nisi rationabile et sufficiens habeant impedimentum, finito vero prædictæ legationis officio sub forma prescripta et cohercioni et jurisdictioni domini Cantuariensi archiepiscopi et successorum suorum et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis se partes prædictæ submiserunt. Et sciendum quod per hanc pacem remanent domino regi et hæredibus suis omnia homagia baronum Walliæ quieta, et remittuntur omnia incendia, homicidia, et alia mala tam ex parte Anglicorum quam Wallensium perpetrata; ita quod ad invicem plene reconcilientur. Salvo præfati David jure suo, si quod habet in aliis terris. Et si forte aliquis prædictorum arbitrorum ante hoc arbitrium completum in fata decesserit, vel per impedimentum rationabile prædicto arbitrio faciendo non possit interesse; alius loco suo substituetur qui neutri partium merito suspectus habeatur: ad hoc præfati episcopus de Sancto Asaph Idnevet et Ignan et Griffinus filius Rotherich præstiterunt sacramentum, quod quantum in eis est, prædicta fideliter observabunt et ab ipso David et suis modis omnibus quibus poterunt, facient observari: ad majorem autem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsos regem et David in modo chirographi. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum ipsius una cum sigillo prædictorum episcopi de Sancto Asapho Idnevet, Ignan et Griffini, et parti penes ipsum David remanenti appositum est sigilum domini regis: his testibus venerabilibus patribus Ottone Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono, cardinali apostolicæ sedis legato; Waltero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Waltero Careleolensi, Waltero Wygornensi et Gulielmo Norwicensi episcopis; Richardo comite Pictaviæ et Cornubiæ fratre domini regis, venerabili patre episcopo de Sancto Antando; seneschallis nostris Joanne extraneo. Edenyfet Watham, Griffino filio Rotherich, David archidiacon de Sancto Asaph et aliis.

Rex.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini falutem. Bene recolimus qualiter nos vobis nuper in mandatis dedimus, quod coram nobis apud Wigorniam compareretis ad providendum arbitros qui loco eorum qui primo ad hoc electi fuerint et qui ad partes recefferunt tranfmarinas, juftitiam fecundum formam pacis inter et vos provife fingulis conquerentibus exhiberent; et in arbitrio prædicto fecundum formam debitam procederent et fimiliter ad juftitiam recipiendam de portione uxorem veftram contingente de hæreditate fuâ: et fimilitar ad ftandum recto fuper his de quibus fenefchallus de monte alto et aliis de vobis funt conquefti. Et quia ad diem et locum vobis præfixos non acceffiftis, fed literas veftras nobis mififtis; continentes quod tres ex veftris ad nos loco veftro deftinaftis, ex quibus tantum unus ad nos acceffit qui ad præmiffa adimplenda nullam poteftatem habuit; unde quibufdam ex noftris vifum fuerat quod hoc malitiofe et ut fubterfugium quæreretis per vos factum fuit. Nos tamen hoc non credentes fed fidelitatem veftram adhuc magis probare volentes, vobis mandamus in fide qua nobis tenemini, præcipiendo quatinus omni occafione poftpofita perfonaliter compareatis apud Salop, die dominica ante dominicam palmarum coram fidelibus noftris quos illuc duxerimus tranfmittendos ad confentiendum in perfonas certas, ad procedendum in arbitrio prædicto loco eorum qui ad partes tranfmarinas recefferunt et ad faciendum in eodem arbitrio id quod adhuc reftat faciendum; et ad recipiendum juftitiam de portione uxorem veftram de hæreditate fua contingente et ad ftandum recto fenefchallo Ceftriæ et aliis de vobis conquerentibus. Quod fi perfonaliter ad hoc faciendum venire non poffitis tales loco veftro mittatis qui plenam poteftatem habeant hæc omnia nomine veftro faciendi. Nos enim vobis et veftris per eos quos ibidem mittimus aut per nofmet ipfos falvum et fecurum provideri faciemus conductum. Tefte rege apud Wudeftock decimo nono die Februarii.

ANNO domini millefimo ducentefimo quadragefimo primo, die dominica proxima ante inventionem fanctæ crucis affignata, David filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ et marchionibus ad confentiendum in arbitros fuftituendos loco abfentium et ad faciendam et recipiendam juftitiam fecundum formam pacis conventæ inter dominum regem et dictum David comparuit Thudius fenefchallus ipfius David, cancellarius et Phillippus filius Ibor clericus ex parte David procuratores; oftendentes literas ipfius David, in quibus dictus David promittebat fe ratum habiturum quicquid per ipfos fieret fecundum formam pacis fupradictæ. Radulphus vero de mortuo mari et Rogerus fenefchallus Ceftriæ et Griffinus pro fe et aliis marchionibus comparuerunt; petentes inftanter quod fecundum dicta teftium productorum coram domino Stephano de Segrave, et conjudicibus fuis vicem domini regis gerentibus apud Salop eifdem exhiberetur juftitiæ complementum. Sed contra procuratores præfati David afferebant dictos teftes

non

non esse receptos secundum formam pacis. Quare secundum dicta eorum non dicebat nec poterat judicari. Tandam continuata die et altercatione magna super hoc et aliis habitata inter partes, forma pacis prædictæ producta in medio visaque et perfecta loco absentium arbitrorum scilicet domini Ottonis Sancti Nicholai in carcere Tulliano diaconi cardinalis, domini Papæ quondam legati in Anglia Wigornensis et Norwicensis episcoporum subrogati sunt per dominum regem de consensu dictorum procuratorum episcopus Coventrensis, Joannes filius Galfridi et Herebertus filius Matthæi, et Walterus de Clifford: quibus data est eadem potestas quam haberent absentes si præsentes essent secundum formam pacis prædictæ et assignata est dies partibus à die Pentecostes proximo in unum mensem apud pontem de Maneford ultra Salop ad probanda hinc inde sive per productos testes; non obstante productione jam facta per alios et quolibet probationis genere sive per instrumenta, sive alio modo quæ voluerunt et sibi noverint expedienda; et illa die dabitur alia ad judicium audiendum secundum probata coram eisdem arbitris juxta formam pacis superius prælibatæ.

Rex, &c.

DAVID filio Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ salutem. Ex certâ quorundam relatione didicimus quod vos contra juramentum nobis præstitum quosdam fratres Griffini filii Madoc et etiam quosdam homines nostros de Keri, qui homagia nobis fecerunt vobis confœderatis et ab obsequio et fidelitate nostra subtraxistis et fratres prædicti Griffini contra nos in terra vestra receptatis. Tres quidem de seneschallis vestris in succursum eorum qui expugnant dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari destinastis cædes et incendia per vos et vestros in terra sua et terris aliorum fidelium committendo, terras etiam quæ in curia nostra abjudicatæ fuerunt Oweno Vaghan et nepotibus suis, eis contra justitiam deforciatis, non permittentes quod executio fiat de his quæ in curia nostra sunt considerata. Quandam etiam navem Cestriæ quæ in potestate vestra applicuit cartata blado et aliis victualibus arestari fecistis per vos et gentem vestram, in nullo his quorum bladum et victualia fuerint inde satisfacientes super quibus non modicum admiramur et movemur; et multo fortius quod cum nuper misissemus nuntios vestros solempnes usque Salop, utpote venerabilem patrem Henricum Coventrensem et Lichfieldensem episcopum, et dilectos et fideles nostros Joannem filium Galfridi, et Henricum de Aditheleg paratos ad emendas faciendas et recipiendas de interceptionibus factis, tam ex parte nostra, quam ex parte vestra, vos tanquam in contemptum nostrum prædictis fidelibus nostris non occurristis, nec per aliquos de vestris in eorum occursum mittere curâstis, quod quidem ægre nos movet cum tot et tantas injurias quas longum esset enumerare contra nos et nostros nullo modo attemptare debuistis: et ideo vobis mandamus quod prædictos fideles nostros tam fratres prædicti Griffini quam homines nostros de Keri quos a fidelitate nostra subtraxistis ad fidem nostram redire

redire faciatis. Non impedientes quin prædictus Owenus Vaghan et nepotes sui secundum abjudicatum est in curia nostra terris suis gaudere possint et eas pacificè possidere. Id etiam quod contra dilectum et fidelem nostrum Radulphum de mortuo mari et alios fideles nostros et etiam quod de navi illa Cestrensi attemptastis, sic emendari faciatis; quod nobis non relinquatur materia injurias prædictas gravius ulciscendi quod nollemus. Nec omitatis quin citra festum Sancti Petri ad vincula nobis significetis qualiter dampna et injurias prædictas, quæ nullo modo dissimulare poterimus nobis emendare volueritis. Teste rege apud Merlebergh, quarto decimo die Julii.

Sciant præsentes et futuri quod ita convenit inter dominum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem ex una parte et senanam uxorem Griffini filii Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, quem David frater ejus tenet carceri mancipatum cum Owen filio suo nomine ejusdem Griffini ex altera; scilicet quod prædicta Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo quo dabit domino regi sexcentas marcas, ut rex eum et prædictum Owen filium suum liberari faciat a carcere detineri. Et ut rex postea judicio Curiæ suæ secundum legem Walensem ei et hæredibus suis habere faciat super portione quæ eum continget de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Lewelini patris sui et quam prædictus David ipsi *Griffino deforciavit. Ita si quod idem Griffinus vel hæredes sui per* considerationem curiæ domini regis reciperent portionem quam se dicunt contingere de hæreditate prædicta, eadem Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino et hæredibus suis quod ipse et hæredes sui imperpetuum inde redent domino regi et hæredibus suis trecentas marcas annuas. Scilicet tertiam partem in denariis et tertiam partem in bobus et vaccis, et tertiam partem in equis per æstimationem legalium hominum liberandas vicecomiti Salop, apud Salop, et per manum ipsius vicecomitis ad saccarium regis deferendas et ibidem liberandas scilicet unam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad pascham. Eadem etiam Senana manucepit pro prædicto Griffino viro suo et hæredibus suis quod firmam pacem tenebunt cum præfato David super portione quæ eidem David remanebit de hæreditate prædicta; manucepit etiam Senana pro præfato Griffino et hæridibus suis, quod si aliquis Walensis aliquo tempore regi vel hæredibus suis rebellis extiterit, præfatus Griffinus et hæredes sui ad custum suum proprium ipsum compellent ad satisfaciendum domino regi et hæredibus suis. Et de his omnibus supradictis observandis, dicta Senana dabit domino regi David et Rothery filios suos obsides: Ita tamen quod si de præfato Griffino et Oweno filio suo qui cum eo est in carcere humanitus contingat antequam inde deliberentur; alter prædictorum filiorum eidem Senanæ reddetur reliquo obside remanente: juravit insuper Senana tactis sacro-sanctis evangeliis pro se et præfato Griffino et hæredibus suis quod hæc omnia firmiter observabunt. Et manucepit quod præfatus Griffinus idem jurabit cum à carcere liberatus fuerit, et super præmissis se submisit nomine dicti Griffini jurisdictioni Herefordensis et Conventrensis episcoporum. Ita quod præfati episcopi, vel alter eorum quem dominus rex elegerit ad requisitionem ipsius regis per sententias excommunicationis in personas et inter-

dicti

dicti in terras eorum coherceant ad omnia prædicta et singula observanda. Hæc omnia manucepit prædicta Senana et bona fide promisit se facturam et curaturam quod omnia impleantur, et quod præfatus Griffinus cum liberatus fuerit, et hæredes sui hac omnia grata habebunt et complebunt et instrumentum suum inde dabunt domino regi in forma prædicta. Ad majorem siquidem hujus rei securitatem factum est hoc scriptum inter ipsum dominum regem et præfatam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini viri sui. Ita quod parti remanenti penes ipsum dominum regem appositum est sigillum præfati Griffini per manum præfatæ Senanaæ uxoris suæ una cum sigillo ipsius Senanæ; et parti remanenti penes ipsam Senanam nomine præfati Griffini appositum est sigillum ipsius domini regis: de supradictis etiam omnibus complendis et firmiter observandis dedit prædicta Senana nomine præfati Griffini domino regi plegios subscriptos, viz. Radulphum de Mortuo Mari, Walterum de Clifford, Rogerum de Monte alto senescallum Cestriæ, Mailgun, filium Mailgwn, Mereduc filium Roberti, Griffinum filium Maddoc de Baunseld, Howel et Mereduc fratres ejus, Griffinum filium Wennwen, qui hæc omnia pro præfata Senana manuceperunt et cartas suas ipsi domino regi inde fecerunt. Actum apud Salop die Lunæ proxima ante assumptionem beatæ Mariæ anno ipsius regis vicesimo quinto.

OMNIBUS hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de Monte Alto seneschallus Cestriæ salutem. Sciatis quod ego me constituti plegium Senanæ uxoris Griffini filii Leolini quondam principis Norwalliæ, et manu cepi pro ea erga dominum meum Henricum regem Angliæ illustrem, quod omnia quæ conventionavit eidem domino meo nomine præfati viri sui a carcere in quo David frater ejus eos detinet et pro portione quæ ipsum Griffinum contingit de hæreditate quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris suis et quam præfatus David frater ejus ei deforciat, domino regi firmiter observabit. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Actum apud Salopesbury die Lunæ ante assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni ipsius vicesimo quinto.

Sub eadem forma fecerunt singuli plegii præscripti.

SCIANT præsentes et futuri quod ego Mereducus filius Howel, tactis sacrosanctis juravi quod ab isto die in antea omnibus diebus vitæ meæ ero ad fidelitatem domini regis Angliæ, et serviam ei fideliter et devote cum omnibus viribus meis et toto posse meo quandocunque indiguerit servitio meo, et treugam inter dominum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me initam usque ad festum S. Michælis anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto ex parte mea fideliter observabo: et tam ad fidelitatem domino regi in perpetuum observandum quam ad treugas prædictas observandas usque ad terminum prædictum supposui me jurisdictioni domini Herefordensis episcopi, et domini Coventrensis et Lichfieldensis episcopi, vel alterius eorum, quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, ut si in aliquo contra prædictam fidelitatem domini regis, vel contra observantiam prædictarum

treugarum venerit, liceat eis vel eorum alteri quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit personam meam et omnes meos excommunicare et terram meam interdicere, donec de transgressione ipsam satisfecero ad plenum. Et si forsitan infra prædictum festum S. Michæli inter prædictum Radulphum de Mortuo Mari et me nulla pax fuerit formata, licet post festum illud bellum moveant prædicto Radulpho, non obligabit me prædictum juramentum dum tamen erga dominum regem fidelitatem observam continuam, sicut prædictum est. Etsi bellum post prædictum terminum inter nos moveatur, nihilominus dominus resustinebit quod ego et mei receptemur in terra sua sicut alii fideles sui. Ad prædicta autem observanda domino regi et hæredibus suis obligo me per juramentum prædictum, et per sigilli mei appositionem quod huic scripto apposui, ad majorem confirmationem prædictorum. Actum in crastino assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ, anno regni regis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

Sub eisdem verbis fecerunt domino regi chartas suas, Owen filius Howell. Mailgon filius Mailgun. Mereduc filius Mereduc. Howel filius Cadwachlan, et Cadwachlan filius Howel.

OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerunt, David, filius Leolini, salutem. Sciatis quod concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illustri filio domino Joannis regis: quod deliberabo Griffinum fratrem meum quem teneo incarceratum una cum filio suo primogenito et aliis qui occasione prædicti Griffini sunt in parte mea incarcerati, et ipsos eidem domino meo regi tradam. Et postea stabo juri curiæ ipsius domini regis tam super eo, utrum idem Griffinus debeat teneri captus quam super portione terræ quæ fuit prædicti Leolini patris mei, si qua ipsum Griffinum contingere debeat, secundam consuetidinem Walensium. Ita quod pax servetur inter me et prædictum Griffinum fratrem meum quod caveatur de ipsa tenenda secundum considerationem curiæ ipsius domini regis, et quod tam ego quam prædictus Griffinus portiones nostras que nos contingent de prædictis terris tenebimus in capite de prædicto domino rege. Et quod reddam Rogero de Monte Alto seneschallo Cestriæ terram suam de Monthaut cum pertinentiis: et sibi et aliis baronibus et fidelibus domini regis scisinas terrarum suarum occapatarum a tempore belli orti inter ipsum dominum Johannem regem et prædictum Leolinum patrem meum, salvo jure proprietatis cujuslibet pacti et instrumenti super quo stabitur juri hinc inde in curia ipsius domini regis: et quod reddam ipsi domino regi omnes expensas quas ipse et sui fecerunt occasione exercitus istius. Et quod satisfaciam de damnis et injuriis illatis sibi et suis secundum considerationem prædictæ curiæ vel malefactores ipsos, ipsi domino regi reddam omnia homagia quæ dominus Johannes rex pater ejus habuit, et quæ dominus rex de jure habere debet; et specialiter omnium nobilium Wallensium. Et quod idem dominus rex non dimittit aliquem de

suis

suis captivis quin ipsi domino regi et suis remaneant seisinæ suæ. Et quod terra de Engusmere cum pertinentiis suis in perpetuum remanebit domino regi, vel hæredibus suis, et quod de cætero non receptabo vilagas vel foris banniatos ipsius domini regis, vel baronum suorum de marchia in terra mea, nec permittam receptari; et de omnibus articulis supradictis, et singulis firmiter et in perpetuum observandis, domino regi et hæredibus suis, pro me et hæredibus meis cavebo per obsides et pignora et aliis modis quibus dominus rex dicere voluit vel dictate. Et in his et in omnibus aliis stabo voluntati, et mandatis ipsius domini regis et juri parebo omnibus in curia sua. In cujus rei testimonium, præsenti scripto sigillum meum appendi. Actum apud Atrieum juxta fluvium Elvey de S. Asapho in festo decollationis S. Johanni Baptistæ, anno prædicti domiregis Henrici vigesimo quinto.

Sciendum quod illi qui capti detinentur cum prædicto Griffino, eodem modo tradentur domino regi donec per curiam suam consideratum fuerit, utrum et quomodo debeant deliberari. Et ad omnia firmiter tenenda, ego David juravi super crucem sanctam quam coram me feci deportari. Venerabilis etiam pater Howelus episcopus de S. Asaph ad petitionem meam firmiter promisit in ordine suo, quod hæc omnia prædicta faciet, et procurabit modis quibus poterit, observari. Ednevet siquidem Waugam per præceptum meum, illud idem juravit super crucem prædictam. Actum ut supra. Præterea concessi pro me et hæredibus meis quod si ego, vel hæredes mei contra pacem domini regis, vel hæredium suorum, vel contra articulos prædictos, aliquid attentaverimus tota hæreditas nostra domino regi, et hæridibus suis incurratur. De quibus omnibus et singulis suppofui me, et hæredes meos, jurisdictioni archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et episcoporum Londinensis, Herefordensis, et Coventrensis, qui pro tempore præerunt, quod omnes, vel unus eorum quem dominus rex ad hoc elegerit, possit nos excommunicare, et terram nostram interdicere, si aliquid contra prædicta attentaverimus. Et procuravi quod episcopi de Bangor et de S. Asaph chartas suas domino regi fecerunt per quas concesserunt, quod omnes sententias tum excommunicationis quam interdicti à prædictis archiepiscopo, episcopis, vel aliquo eorum, ferendas, ad mandatum eorum exequentur.

Rex omnibus, &c.

DAVID filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwalliæ, Salutem. Noverint universitas vestræ me spontanea voluntate mea pepegisse domino meo Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ, quod ego et hæredes mei eidem domino regi, et hæredibus suis omnibus diebus vitæ nostræ constanter et fideliter serviemus, nec aliquo tempore contra eos erimus: quod si forte evenerit, quod à fideli servicio suo, vel hæredum suorum, quod absit, recesserimus, tota terra nostra erga ipsum dominum regem et hæredes suos incurratur, et in usus eorum perpetuis cedat temporibus. Hanc autem pactionem et concessionem sigilli mei appositione roboravi, et ad majorem

 hujus

hujus rei declarationem venerabiles patres Bangorensem, et de S. Asaph episcopi, ad petitionem meam præsenti scripto sigilla sua apposuerunt. Actum apud Lothetan tricesimo primo die Augusti.

ILLUSTRI viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglorum, &c. abbates Haberconwiæ, et de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis inquisitores dati a domino Papâ, salutem in domino. Mandatum domini Papæ recipimus in hæc verba, 'Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis abbatibus de Haberconwiæ, & de Kemere Cisterciensis ordinis Bangorum diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilecti filii nostri nobilis viri David principis Norwalliæ fuit propositum coram nobis, quod cum inter ipsum, quem parentes ejus in alumnum Romanæ ecclesiæ donaverunt, et Charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Anglorum illustrem bellum longo tempore perdurasset, tandem postquam fuit in venerabilem fratrem nostrum episcopum de S. Asaph et collegas ipsius de stando hinc inde eorum arbitrio super omnibus querelis juramento a partibus præstito concorditer bonis viris mediantibus conpromissum. Idem rex, non attendens quod pendente illorum arbitrio, sibi super hoc aliquid attentare non licebit in prædictum principem ex insperato hostiliter iruit ad præstandum, quod super prædictis de quibus conpromissum fuerit et juratum, ac aliis ipsius regis, mandare per vim computit, & metum qui cadere poterat in constantem.

CUM igitur ea quæ vi & metu fiant, carere debeant robore firmitatis, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus inquisita super hoc diligentius veritate, si rem inveneritis ita esse, auctoritate nostra prædictum principem ab observatione sic extorti juramenti penitus absolventes, sententia, si qua occasione ejusmodi in ejus personam, vel terram ab aliquo forsan tota fuerit, juxta formam ecclesiæ sine difficultate qualibet, sicut justum fuerit relaxetis. Testes vero, &c. Datum Januæ septimo calendas Augusti pontificatûs nostri anno secundo. Hujus igitur autoritate muniti vobis mandamus quatenus in vigilia S. Agnetis Virginis, apud Keyrus in ecclesia Gustefend coram vobis compareatis, super contentis in autentico dicto principi responsuri, si vobis videritis expedire.

Isti sunt ARTICULI intimati Domino LEOLINO *Principi* WALLIÆ, *et populo ejusdem loci, ex parte Archiepiscopi supra dicti.*

PRIMO, Quod propter salutem eorum spiritualem, et temporalem ad partes istas venimus, quas semper diliximus, ut plures eorum noverunt.

SECUNDO, Quia venimus contra domini regis voluntatem, cui etiam adventus noster dicitur plurimum displicere.

TERTIO,

TERTIO, Quia rogamus eos et ſupplicamus eis pro ſanguine Jeſu Chriſti, quatenus venire velint ad unitatem cum gente Anglorum, et ad pacem domini regis, quam eis intendimus, quanto melius poterimus procurare.

QUARTO, Volumus eos ſcire quod in his partibus domini non poterimus remanere.

QUINTO, Volumus eos attendere quod poſt receſſum noſtrum non invenient aliquem, qui ita velit ſua amplecti negotia promovenda, qui vellemus, ſi placeret. Altiſſima vita noſtra temporali corporum pacem honeſtam et ſtabilem perpetuo procuraſſe.

SEXTO, Quia ſi noſtras preces ſpreverint et labores, ſtatim intendimus eorum pertinaciam ſcribere ſummo pontifici et curiæ Romanæ, propter peccata mortalia, quæ multiplicantur occaſione diſcordiæ omni die.

SEPTIMO, Noverint quod niſi citius ad pacem venerint aggravabitur eis bellum, quod non poterunt ſuſtinere, quia creſcit regia potentia omni die.

OCTAVO, Noverint quod regnum Angliæ eſt ſub ſpeciali protectione ſedis apoſtolicæ, et quod Romana curia plus inter regna cætera diligere conſuevit.

NONO, Quod eadem curia nullo modo volet permittere ſtatum regni Angliæ vacillare, quod ſibi ſpecialibus obſequiis eſt devotum.

DECIMO, Amariſſimè plangimus hoc quod dicitur Wallenſes crudeliores exiſtere Saracenis; quia cum Saraceni capiunt Chriſtianos, eos ſervant pecunia redimendos, quos Wallenſes captos dicuntur illico jugulare quaſi ſolo ſanguine delectentur; immo quod eſt deterius, quos promittunt redimi, tradunt accepta pecunia jugulandos.

UNDECIMO, Quod cum conſueverit deum et perſonas eccleſiaſticas revereri, a devotione hominum videntur multipliciter receſſiſſe, qui in tempore ſanctiſſimo in redemptoris injuriam moverunt ſeditionem, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes, in quo eos nullus poterit excuſare.

DUODECIMO, Petimus ut tanquam veri Chriſtiani ad cor redeant pœnitentes, quia cœptam diſcordiam non poſſent continuare etiam ſi juraſſent.

TERTIODECIMO, Petimus ut nobis ſignificent quibus modis velint et valeant turbationem pacis regiæ, læſionem reipublicæ, te mala alia emendare.

QUARTODECIMO, Ut ſignificent nobis qualiter valeat ipſa concordia ſtabiliri, fruſtra enim pax firmari videbitur quæ tam aſſidue violatur.

QUINTODECIMO, Ut ſi dicant leges ſuas vel fœdera ex pacto inito non ſervari, nobis ſignificent quæ ſunt illa.

SEXTODECIMO, Noverint quod etiam poſito quod eis derogatum fuiſſet, quod neſcimus, nullo modo licebit eis quaſi eſſent judices in cauſa ſuà taliter majeſtatem regiam impugnare.

SEPTIMODECIMO, Quod niſi modo pax fiat proceditur contra eos forſitan ex decreto militiæ, sacerdoti, et populi convocati.

REVEREN-

REVERENDISSIMO patri in Christo domino J. de gratia cantuariensi archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati, suus humilis et devotus filius Leolinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem et filialem dilectionem cum omnimoda reverentia, subjectione et honore, sanctæ paternitati vestræ pro labore vobis quasi intolerabile quem assumpsistis ad præsens pro dilectione quam erga nos et nostram nationem geritis, omni qua possumus devotione regratiantes vobis assurgimus; et eo amplius quod contra domini reges voluntatem venistis prout nobis intimastis. Cæterum quod nos rogastis ut ad pacem domini regis veniamus, scire debet vestra sanctitas quod ad hoc prompti sumus, dummodo idem dominus rex pacem debitam et veram nobis et nostris velit observare. Ad hoc licet gauderemus de mora vestra facienda in Wallia, tamen per nos non eritis impediti quin pax fiat, quantum in nobis est, quam optamus per vestram industriam magis quam alicujus alterius roborari. Et speramus nec per Dei gratiam erit opportunum propter nostram pertinaciam aliquid scribere domino Papæ. Nec vestras paternas preces ac graves labores spernemus, sed eas amplectimur omni cordis affectu ut tenemur. Nec erit opus quod dominus rex aggravet contra nos manum, cum prompti sumus sibi obedire juribus nostris et legibus nobis ut præmittatur reservatis.

ET licet regnum Angliæ sit Curiæ Romanæ specialiter subjectum et dilectum, tamen cum dominus Papa, necnon et Curia Romana audiverint quanta nobis per Anglicos mala sunt illata, videlicet quod pax prius formata non fuit nobis servata nec pacta; deinde devastationes, combustiones, et ecclesiasticarum personarum interfectiones, sacerdotum videlicet et inclusorum, et aliarum religiosarum personarum passim mulierum et infantium suggentium ubera et in utero portantium, combustiones etiam hospitalium et aliarum domorum religiosarum, homicidiorum in cœmiteriis, ecclesiis, et super altaria, et aliorum sacrilegiorum et flagiciorum auditu etiam horribilium, auditu Paganorum sicut expressius in aliis rotulis conscripta vobis transmittimus inspicienda.

SPERAMUS imprimis, quod vestra pia et sancta paternitas clementer nobis compatietur, nec non et curia super dicta, nec per nos regnum Angliæ vacillabit, dum, ut promissum est, pax debita nobis fiat et servetur. Qui vero sanguinis effusione delectantur manifestum est factis. Nam Anglici hactenus nulli sexui vel ætati seu languori pepercerunt, nulla ecclesiæ vel loco sacro detulerunt, qualia vel consimilia Wallenses non facerunt. Super eo autem quod unus redemptus fuit interfectus, multum dolemus, nec occisorem manu tenemus, sed in sylvis uti latro vagatur. De eo vero quod inceperunt guerram aliqui in tempore indebito, illud ignoravimus usque post factum, et tamen ipsi afferunt quod nisi eo tempore hoc fecissent mortes et captiones eis imminebunt, nec audebunt in domibus residere, nec nisi armati incedere, et sic præ timori tali tempore id fecerunt. De eis verò quæ fecimus contra dominum, ut veri christiani per Dei gratiam pœnitebibus, nec erit ex parte nostra quod bellum continuetur, dum sumus indemnes ut debemus.

debemus. Ne tamen exhæredemur et paſſim occidemur, oportet nos defendere ut valemus. Cum verò injuria et damna hinc inde conſiderentur et ponderentur parati ſumus emendare pro viribus quæ ex parte noſtra ſunt commiſſa, dum de prædictis injuriis et damnis nobis factis et aliis emendą nobis fiat. Et ad pacem firmandam et ſtabiliendam ſimiliter ſumus prompti debitis modis.

Quando tamen regales chartæ et pacta inita nobis non ſervatur, ſicut nec hucuſque ſunt obſervata, non poteſt pax ſtabiliri, neç quando novæ exactiones et inauditæ contra nos et noſtros omni die adveniunt. Vobis autem tranſmittimus in rotulis damna nobis illata et fœdera non ſervata ſecundum formam pacis prius factam. Quod verò guerravimus quaſi neceſſitas nos cogebat; nam nos et omnes Wallenſes eramus adeo oppreſſi et ſuppeditati et ſpoliati et in ſervitutem redacti per regales Juſticianos et Ballivos contra formam pacis et omnem juſticiam amplius quam ſi Saraceni eſſemus vel Judæi, ſicut credimus et ſæpe denunciavimus domino regi, nec aliquam emendam habere potuimus. Sed ſemper mittebantur juſticiarii et ballivi ferociores et crudeliores, et quando illi erant ſaturati per ſuas injuſtas exactiones, alii de novo mittebantur et populum excoriandum in tantum quod populus mallebat mori quam vivere. Nec oportet militiam ampliorem convocare, vel contra nos moveri ſacerdotium dum nobis fiat pax et ſervetur modis debitis ut ſuperius eſt expreſſum. Nec debitis ſancte pater omnibus verbis credere noſtrorum adverſariorum; ſicut enim nos factis oppreſſerunt et opprimunt, ita et vobis diffamant, nobis imponentes quæ volunt.

Ipsi enim vovis ſunt præſentes et nos abſentes, ipſi opprimentes et nos oppreſſi. Et ideò propter Deum fidem eis in omnibus non exhibeatis, ſed facta potius examinetis. Valeat ſanctitas veſtre ad regimen eccleſiæ per tempora longa.

Primus Articulus eſt talis, cum in forma pacis ſic contineatur ut ſequitur. Si vero idem Leolinus jus vendicaverit in aliquibus terris quas alii præter dictum dominum regem occupaverint extra quatuor cantredos prædictos, pleniariam ſibi juſtitiam exhibebit præfatus dominus rex ſecundum leges et conſuetudines partium illarum in quibus terræ illæ conſiſtunt: qui articulus non fuit obſervatus ſuper terris Arwyſtley et inter Dyvy et ductus fluviorum, pro eo quod cum dominus Leolinus dictas terras vendicaſſet coram domino rege apud Ruthlan, et rex ſibi conceſſiſſet cauſam examinare ſecundum leges et conſuetudines Walliæ ac advocati pretium fuiſſent introducti coram rege ut judicarent de dictis terris ſecundum leges Wallicanas; parte rea comparente et reſpondente adeo quod eo die deberet finaliter terminari ex præfixione domini regis qui apud Gloverniam exiſtens diem prædictum partibus aſſignavit, licet ſæpius in diverſis locis coram juſticiariis fuiſſet dicta cauſa examinata, et terræ ipſæ eſſent in pura Wallia. Nec unquam judicata fuit ſuper eis niſi ſecundum leges Wallicanas; nec dominus rex poſſet vel deberet prorogare niſi ſecundum leges Walliæ: diem tamen ipſum motu proprio prorogavit et contra leges antedictas, et ad ultimo fuit vocatus ad loca varia ad quæ non debuit evocari, nec juſtitiam obtinere potuit, niſi ſecundum leges

Angliæ

Angliæ contra illud quod in dicto articulo continetur. Et idem factum fuit coram justiciariis apud Montgomery, cum partes essent in judicio constitutæ et firmatæ, et dies datus ad sententiam audiendam, diem prorogaverunt leges memoratas. Demum apud Londinum post multos labores et expensas varias rex ipse justitiam sibi denegavit, nisi vellet secundum leges Angliæ subire judicium in causa memorata.

SECUNDUS artiulus non servatus est talis. Et omnes transgressiones injuriæ et excessus hinc inde factæ pœnitus remittuntur usque in diem hodiernum. Iste articulus non fuit observatus quia dominus Regnialdus de Grey statim cum fuit factus justiciarius, movet varias quæstiones et innumerabiles contra homines de Tegengl, et nos super transgressis quæ factæ fuerunt in tempore domini Henrici regis, et dicti domini Leolini dum dominum in partibus illis obtinebat unde dicti homines multum timentes non audebant in domibus suis permanere.

TERTIUS articulus, Ubi dictus Rys Vachan filius Nesi filii Maelgon cum terra quam nunc tenet et cum post pacem initam fuit spoliatus de terra de Geneverglyn, quam tunc tenebat cum hominibus et Averiis eorundem.

QUARTUS articulus, Item concedit dominus rex quod omnes terras tenentes in quatuor Cantredis, et in aliis terris quas dominus rex retinet in manu sua, teneant eas adeo libere et pleniarie sicut ante guerram tenere consueverint, et eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus gaudeant quibus prius gaudere solebant, et cum contra istum articulum dictus Reginaldus consuetudines varias de novo introduxit, et hoc contra pacis formam supradictam.

ITEM quintus articulus, Controversiæ et contentiones moræ vel movendæ inter principem et quoscunque terminabantur et decidentur secundum leges Marchiæ de his quæ emergunt in Marchia, et secundum leges Walliæ de rebus contentiosis quæ in Wallia orientur. Contra istum articulum venit dominus rex mittendo justiciarios usque ad Montgomery, qui ibidem judicare præsumpserunt homines dicti Leolini, vindictum ponendo super illos contra leges Walliæ, cum hoc vel aliud simile nunquam factum fuisset ibidem temporibus retroactis, quosdam incarcerando, alios in exilium mittendo, cum ipse idem princeps paratus esset de eisdem hominibus suis exhibere justitiæ complementum omnibus quærelantibus de eisdem.

ITEM sextus articulus. Item cum sit contentum in dicta pacis forma, quod Griffinus Vachan homagium faceret domino regi, de terra, de Yâl, et principi de terra de Edeyrnahu justiciarii domini introduxerunt, in totam terram prædictam de Edeyrnahu cujus cognitio causæ ad principem pertinebat simpliciter, et non ad illos Justiciarios; et tamen pro bono pacis princeps hoc tolerabat cum ipse princeps paratus esset ediem dominæ super hoc justitiam exhibere.

SEPTIMUS articulus, ubi dicitur et licet idem princeps se nostræ ut dictum est supposuerit voluntati, nos tamen concedimus et volumus quod voluntas nostra

. . . ultra

. . . . . ultra dictos articulos se in aliquo non extendant. Contra istum articulum exigebatur aurum ad opus reginæ in qualibet solutione facta regi cum . . . . . Aurum nunquam fuit exactum Wallensibus, nec in tempore domini Henrici, vel alicujus alterius regis Angliæ; quod aurum exsolvit pro bono pacis, cum tamen nihil de hoc tactum fuit in forma pacis vel excogitatum: et nunc insuper exigitur à principe aurum ad opus reginæ senioris matris videlicet domini Edvardi nunc regis Angliæ, pro pace facta in tempore domini Henrici nunc regis Angliæ, cum nihil de hoc tunc fuerat dictum vel quoquomodo excogitatum, videlicet duo millia Marcarum et dimidium, et nisi dictæ Marcæ solverentur, minabatur dicta regina quod bona ejusdem Leolini occuparet quæ invenire poterat in domino regis, et homines suos capere vel venundare quousque dictam summam haberet ad plenum. Item cum invitâsset dominus rex dictum principem adfectum Wiggorniensem verbis blandissimis promittendo ei quod daret tunc consanguineam suam sibi in uxorem, et multis ditaret honoribus; nihilominus cum illuc venisset in die desponsationis, ante missam petiit dominus rex unam literam consignari à princepe continentem inter cætera, quod idem princeps nullum omnino honorem in terra sua teneret contra regis voluntatem, vel manu teneret ex quo possit contingere quod omnes fideles principis ab eo commoverentur. Quam quidem literam sibi sigillatam tradidit, computans per metum qui cadere posset in constantem virum, cum tamen in forma pacis, ut præmissum est, contineatur quod nihil ab eo deberet exigi, ultra quod in dicta forma continetur.

Item, cum secundum eandem pacis formam consuetudines eidem principi confirmentur quibus usus fuerat ab antiquo; ac idem princeps et antecessores sui, ex consuetudine diutina et obtenta bona de naufragis in terris suis provenientia consueverant recipere, et in suos usus convertere ad libitum: Justiciarius Cestrensis namium recepit super principem pro bonis quæ recepit de naufragiis ante guerram contra dictam pacis formam per quam hinc inde erant remissa, et contra consuetudines ante dictas. Dato etiam quod hoc esset foris factum namium recepit tale, videlicet quindecem libratas mellis et plures equos ac homines suos incarceravit, et hoc ex propriis bonis principis antedicti. Preterea, accipit scaphas de Banweys quæ venerant apud Liverpol cum mercandiis per mercatores, et eas numquam deliberavit donec pecuniam pro eis accepit quantum volebat.

Item, cum quidam homines de Geneurglyn quædam bona abstulissent ab aliis vicinis suis de Geneurglyn, dum essent in domino principis de Merpyreton homines reges de Llanbadarn prœdam fecerunt, et acceperunt de terra principis de Merpyreton, et cum homines sui venissent illuc ad quærendum quare dictam prædam receperant, unum de eis interfecerunt, et alios vulneraverunt, & quosdam incarceraverunt. Et cum in dicta pacis forma contineatur quod in marchia deberent emendari quæ in Marchia committebantur, tamen dicti homines regis homines principis audire noluerunt alibi quam in castro de Llanbadarn, & hoc contra pacis formam antedictam, super quo hactenus nullam justitiam habere potuerunt. In istis articulis injuriatus dominus rex principi & suis, & etiam in multis aliis: et licet princeps tam per se quam per suos petivisset sæpius a domino rege

rege quod pacis formam ſupradictam erga ſe & ſuos faceret obſervari, in nullo tamen extitit obſervata ſed omni die de novo juſticiarii & ballivi domini regis in partibus illis injurias injuriis, & varia gravimina cumulaverunt: propter quod mirum non debet videri alicui ſi princeps præfatus aſſenſum præſtitit illis qui guerrare cœperunt, cum in his fides quam in animam domini regis ſibi dominus Robertus Tibetot juraverat in nullo ſervabatur, & maxima & principaliter cum princeps fuiſſet præmunitus a perſonis fide dignis quod princeps foret a rege capiendus in ſuo primo acceſſu apud Ruthlan, & etiam fuiſſet captus ſi rex illuc acceſſiſſet poſt Natale ſicut propoſuerat.

Nec gravamina & alia quaſi innumerabilia, ſancte pater, conſiderantes, nobis affectu paterno compaciamini, et pro ſalute animæ domini regis, et noſtræ, et etiam multorum aliorum, ad pacem bonam utriuſque populi laboretis fructuoſe.

Cum dominus David primo veniſſet ad dominum Edwardum tunc comitem Ceſtriæ, ac homagium ſibi feciſſet, idem dominus Edwardus eidem Davidi duas cantredas, videlicet de dyffryn-Clwyd et Cywonant cum omnibus ſuis pertinentiis dedit plenarie, et literas ſuas patentes ſuper hoc fieri fecit, tandem etiam d[illegible]tionem eidem invocavit, poſtquam creatus eſt in regem, et etiam illum Davidem in poſſeſſionem illarum cantredarum induxit corporalem.

Demum domina Gwenlhian de Lacy mortua, tres villas quas in dictis cantredis tenuit quoad vitam quæ ad ipſum Davidem ſpectabant ratione donationis ſupradictæ dominus rex ſibi abſtulit minus juſte contra tenorem chartæ ſuæ.

Item, Cum dictus David ex donatione domini regis prædicti villas de Hope et Eſton obtineret in Wallia, de quibus nulli reſpondere tenebatur niſi ſecundum leges Wallicanas; tandem juſticiarius Ceſtrienſis fecit ipſum ad inſtantiam cujuſdam Anglici Willh. de Vanabel nomine ad comitatum Ceſtrienſem ſuper dictis vilulis ad judicium evocari. Et licet dictus dominus David petiviſſet multoties quod injurioſe contra eundem non procederetur in dicto comitatu, pro eo quod ibidem reſpondere nullatenus tenebatur ſuper villis prædictis quæ ſitæ erant in Wallia, ſed potius tractaretur, hoc ſibi plene denegavit.

Item, Idem juſticiarius Ceſtrienſis in gravamen dicti domini Davidis nemus ſuum de Lleweni et Sylvas ſuas de Hope fecit ſuccidi tam per villanos de Ruthlan, quam per alios, cum idem juſticiarius in terris prædicti domini Davidis nullam omnino haberet juriſdictionem, et non contenti quod meremium ibidem quærerent ad ædificia exigenda tam apud Rodelanum quam alibi in patria, ſed nemus deſtruendo meremium ibidem ſectum ad vendendum in Hiberniam tranſtulerunt.

Item, Cum idem dominus David quoſdam Fortanicos de terra domini regis qui in nemoribus latitabant cepiſſet, ac ſuſpendio tradidiſſet, idem tamen juſticiarius ipſum Davidem penes regem accuſabat, ac ſi ipſe dictos malefactores defenderet,

ret, et manuteneret, quod verisimile non erat cum ipse David dictos latrones suspendi faceret et occidi.

Item, Cum esset cautum in forma pacis quod Wallenses deberent in causis suis tractari secundum leges Wallicanas, istud tamen circa dictum Davidem et suos homines in nullo extitit observatum.

De premissis vero gravaminibus et aliis petiit idem David aliquam emendationem vel secundum leges Walliæ, vel consuetudines, vel etiam ex gratia speciali; et hoc etiam petiit a domino rege, quorum neutrum potuit aliquatenus obtinere: et cum hoc præmunitus fuit a quibusdam a curia domini regis, quod in primo regressu domini Reginaldi de Gray de curia idem Das vid esset capiendus ut filii sui capiendi pro obsedibu esset, insuper spoliandus castro suo de Hope, et etiam sylva sua ibidem succidenda. Ideo cum idem David multum laborasset pro domino rege prædicto in diversis guerris tam in Anglia quam in Wallia, et exposuisset se et suos variis periculis et injuriis, ac amisisset nobiliores de suis et fortiores, ac multos nimis, nihilominus de dictis graviminibus et aliis nullam omnino justitiam, emendationem, seu gratiam potuit obtinere. Propter quæ gravamina et pericula, timens mortem propriam aut filiorum suorum, vel incarcerationem perpetuam vel saltem diutinam, quasi coactus et invitus incepit prout potuit se et suos defensare.

Hæc est forma quam dominus rex Angliæ promisit hominibus de Ros, antequam ipsi fecerunt sibi homagium, & illam formam eis promisit inviolabiliter observare, videlicet.

Quod ipse dominus rex concederet unicuique eorum jus suum, et jurisdictionem suam, et etiam dominium, bonæ memoriæ domini Henrici quondam regis Angliæ, secundum quod prædicti homines de Ros referent ipsos haberent temporibus prædicti Henrici.

Item, Promsiit prædictus dominus rex supradictis hominibus quod non darentur nec ad firmam ponerentur; quibus articulis concessis præfatis hominibus homagium fecerunt domino regi, et ipse eis promisit ore proprio dictos articulos observare. Hoc non obstante quidam cementarii redeuntes ad villam de Ruthlan, de loco ubi ipsi operabantur, obviaverunt cuidam nobili transeunti cum uxore sua per viam regiam super pace domini regis, qui cementarii per vim proposuerunt auferre a prædicto nobili suam uxorem, et quia ipse nobilis defendit suam uxorem ne ab ipso auferetur, prædicti cementarii prædictum nobilem interfecerunt. Ille autem cui plus opponebatur dictum homicidium perpetrasse, cum quibusdam sociis suis capti fuerunt: et cum parentela prædicti interfecti petierit justitiam a domino justiciario Cestriensi de morte consanguinii eorum, illi de parentela ipsius interfecti fuerunt incarcerati, et interfectores fuerunt a carcere liberati.

Item, Quidam homo interfecit quendam nobilem qui videlicet filium Goronu de Heylyn nutriverat, et interfector captus fuit: et cum quidem de parentela

prædicti interfecti peterent justitiam de eorum consanguineo a domino justiciario Cestriensi, quidam eorum capti fuerunt, et interfector fuit in castello domini regis liberatus, et adhuc est ibi, denegata justitia prædictæ parentelæ.

Item, Quidam nobiles vindicaverunt jus in quibusdam terris, et de mobilibus suis obtulerunt domino regi magnam summam pecuniæ pro justitia habenda per rationem et veredictum proborum et legalium hominum de patria; quæ quidem terræ adjudicatæ fuerunt, prædictis vendicandibus totam terram prædictam cum omnibus ædificiis biadis, et aliis bonis in ipsis contentis. Dominus Reginaldus de Grey; et sic amiserunt primo pecuniam quam pro terra pacaverunt, et postea terram.

Item, Jurisdictionis nostræ est quod nullus extraneus extirparet sylvas nostras, nisi prius habita licentia nostra; hoc non obstante, proclamatum fuit apud Rodolanum quod liceret unicuique Anglicano extirpare sylvas nostras sine nostra licentia ad libitum eorum voluntatis, et quod nobis fuit prohibitum dictas sylvas nostras extirpare.

Item, Terras quas probi homines a domino Davide filio Leolini bonæ memoriæ habuerunt per donationem prædicti Davidis abstulit prædictus justiciarius a prædictis probis hominibus.

Item, Quando aliquis ad villam de Ruthlan veniret cum mercandiis suis, si refutaret illud quod Anglicus eidem, offerret pro suis mercandiis, statim duceretur ille Wallensis ad castrum, et emptor ibidem haberet rem quam larginaverat, et dominus rex haberet pretium dictæ rei, tunc castellam dictum Wallensem spoliatum et atrociter verberatum deliberabant, pacatis prius portario castri quatuor denariis. Si vero aliquis Wallensis emeret aliquam rem in villa de Ruthlan, Anglicus qualiscunque superveniret, et rem venditam dicto Wallensi auferet ab ipso pro minori pretio quam dictus Wallensis solverat pro eadem.

Item, Contra promissionem domini regis prædictis hominibus de Ros, ipse dedit territoriam villæ de Maenam in Penmayn et Lhysfaen.

Item, Taurus cujusdam probi hominis deprehensus fuit in pratris domini regis apud Ros, et captus, et dominus ejus vocatis fuit ad placitum usque Rodolanum, et fuit condemnatus in quinque libris occasione dicti tauri; bis adivit Londinium pro justitia petenda, et nullam fuit affecutus, et in illis duabus vicibus expendidit prædictus homo tres libras.

Item, Quidam nobiles de cantreda de Ros emerunt officia pro certa summa pecuniæ; pacata pecunia, meritis suis non exigentibus, dominus justiciarius Cestrensis abstulit ab eis eorum officia.

Item, Quidam rusticus Goronow ab Heylyn condemnatus fuit in 17l. bonæ et legalis monetæ juris, ordine non servato.

Item,

Item, Goronow filius Heylyn accipit ad firmam territorium de Pennmaen et Lhysfaen a magiſtro Godfrido M. pro certa pecuniæ ſumma, uſque ad finem quatuor annorum, quo facto dominus Robertus de C. cum equis et armis, et cum viginti quatuor equitibus venit ad inequitandum prædictum Goronow, occaſione dictæ terræ, ita quod ſic non fuit ſecurus tranſitus nec uſque Rodolanum, nec uſque ad juſticiarios niſi cum forti Warniſtura de ſua parentela et etiam de ſuis amicis.

Item, In reformationem pacis ultro factæ et firmatæ inter dominum regem, et ſuos ex una parte, et dominum principem et ſuos ex altera expreſſe continebatur; quod omnes injuriæ et tranſgreſſiones factæ ex utraque parte penitus remitterentur; hoc non obſtante oppoſitum fuit contra quoſdam nobiles quoddam fore factum tempore guerræ, et ſtatim capti fuerunt, nec potuerunt a carcere liberari antequam ipſi pacarent ſedecem marcas.

Item, Cum cauſæ debent tractari et terminari ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem terræ noſtræ compelluntur homines cantredæ noſtræ ad jurandum in cauſis prædictis contra ſuam conſcientiam, nec aliter jurare patiuntur.

Præ nos couſtavimus trecentas marcas eundo ad dominum regem pro juſtitia petenda in prædictis articulis, ibidem morando, et ad propria redeundo; et cum nos credebamus habere plenam juſtitiam de ſingulis articulis prædictis, dominus rex tranſmiſit ad partes noſtras dominum Reginaldum de Grey, cui dictus dominus rex totam terram ad firmam conceſſit, ad tractandos homines prædictæ cantredæ prout ſuæ placeret voluntati; qui compulſit nos jurare per manum ſuam cum deberemus jurare per manum domini regis, et ubi crux domini regis levari deberet, quod crux prædicti Reginaldi levaretur, in ſignum quod ipſe erat verus dominus. Dictus vero Reginaldus in ſuo audentu ad partes Walliæ vendidit quibuſdam ſervientibus domini regis officia ſua, quæ prædicti ſervientes prius emerant a dom. rege pro 23 Marcis, et illa officia non deberent vendi niſi cum dominium dominorum mutaretur.

Item, Dominus rex dedit Maredudo filio Madoc magiſterium ſatellitum pro ſuo ſervitio, dominus Reginaldus de Grey abſtulit ab eo ſuum officium, nec a domino rege aſſequi potuit aliquam juſtitiam.

Item, Unus de conſilio prædicti Reginaldi nobis dixit ore tenus, ſcilicet Cynwricus Fichan, quod in adventu prædicti Reginald ad partes Walliæ, viginti quatuor homines de probioribus hominibus cujuſlibet cantredæ caperet ad incarcerandos ipſos perpetuo vel decapitandos: propter iſta gravimina, et alia quæ dictus Reginaldus nobis fecit, et etiam propter minas quas ipſe nobis intulit, videlicet quod ſi mitteremus aliquos nuncios ad curiam domini regis pro juſtitia petenda decapitarentur. Multa alia damna nobis allata, et injuriæ factæ; et quando mittebamus ad curiam domini regis, nuntii non permittebantur nec auſi fuerunt intrare, ſed expendebant multa inutiliter; ob iſta gravamina æſtimabamus nos eſſe liberos a juramento facto domino regis coram deo.

Item,

ITEM, Bledyn Seis et Anjanus filius Genaf de Ros quoddam malefactum fecerunt temporibus David filii Lewelini, & Henrici regis, de homicidiis factis tunc satisfactionem et emendam satisfacere monstraverunt; et modo de novo Reginaldus de Grey vellet et cogetet illam emendam renovare, donec oportuit ipsos terram proprias relinquere.

ITEM, Census et obventiones quos solvimus de veteri moneta per medietatem unius anni ante adventum novæ monetæ, cogerunt nos reddere eis novas monetas pro veteri et hoc sub eodam numero.

Ista sunt gravamina per dominum regem & suos justiciarios illata Rheso parvo de Ystrad Tywy.

PRIMUM est, Postquam dictus Rhys dedit et concessit domino regi castrum suum apud Dynefowr post ultimam pacis formam: qui dictus Rhesus tunc temporis erat in tentilio domini Payn de Gadfry, eodem tempore interfecti fuerunt sex nobiles viri domini Rhys, de quibus satisfactionem nec justitiam unquam habuit quod fuit eis damnum et gravamen.

ITEM, Johannes Giffard calumniavit cum Rhesum super hæreditatem propriam apud Hirwryn, quicquid Rhesus inquisivit a domino rege legem patriæ suæ, aut legem comitatus Caermardden, in quo comitatu antecessores dicti Rhys solebant habere leges, quando fierent in unitatem Anglicorum, et sub eorum dominis; quod idem Rhys nullas leges habuit, et suam terram prædictam totaliter amisit; vellent ipsum instringere in comitatu Herefordiensi, ubi numquam antecessores ejus responderunt.

PRÆTEREA in terris præfati Rhesi talia gravamina fuerunt per Anglicos facta, maxime pertinent ad ecclesiasticos, videlicet in ecclesia Sancti Davidis quæ vocatur Llangadawc fecerunt stabula, et meretrices collocaverunt, et omnia bona quæ in ea continebantur omnino asportaverunt atque totos domos combusserunt; et in eadem ecclesia juxta aram percusserunt capellanum cum gladio ad caput ejus et eum reliquerunt semivivum.

ITEM, in eadem patria ecclesiam Dyngad et ecclesiam Llantredaf spoliaverunt et combusserunt; cæterasque ecclesias ex partibus illis omnino spoliaverunt calcibus, et libris, ac omnibus aliis ornamentis et rebus.

Gravamina Lewelini filii Rhys, & Howeli fratris ejus per dominum regem illata sunt hæc.

POSTQUAM in formam pacis inter dominum Henricum tunc temporis regem Angliæ et dominum principem apud Rhydchwnna, tunc præfatus rex concessit, et per cartas suas confirmavit præfato principi homagium pædictorum nobibium *exor.* Prædicti nobiles fuerunt fideles et constantes cum præfato principe, juxta eorum

So long as.

eorum donationem et cartarum suarum confirmationem: Edwardus nunc rex Angliæ prædictos nobiles dehæreditavit, denegando eisdem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ; ita quod non habuerunt terras suas nec per legem, nec per gratiam.

Ista sunt gravimina, damna, seu molestia per Anglicos illata filiis Maredudi, filii Oweni.

Primum est quamquam dominus rex concessit prædictis nobilibus suas proprias hæreditates post pacis formam, videlicet Geneur'glyn et Creudhyn; præfatus vero rex, contra suam donationem et pacis formam, terris supradictus antedictos nobilis dehæreditavit, denegando eidem omnes leges et consuetudines Walliæ, et Angliæ, atque comitatus Caermardhyn.

Secundum est, Quod præfatus rex in suo comitatu de Cardigan, per suos justiciarios antedictos nobiles compellit, ut ipsi traderent judicium super ignobiles ac subditos patriæ, et quod tales homines e comisso judicium super ipsos opponerent, ubi numquam antecessores eorum ab Anglicis talia sustinuerunt.

Tertium est, Quod justiciarii domini regis curiam eorum nobilium abstulerunt, compellendo homines suos proprios coram eis satisfacere quia de jure coram prædictis nobilibus deberent satisfacere.

Quartum est, Quod quoddam naufragium in terris antedictorum nobilium fuit, qui quidem nobiles bona naufragii receperunt, sicut antecessores eorum fecerunt, et hoc non fuit eis prohibitum per aliquos ex parte regis: antedictus vero rex contra eorum consuetudinem et legem, occasione illius Naufragii eosdem damnavit in octoginta Marcis sterlingorum; atque bona quæ in Naufragio continebantur omnino asportaverunt.

Quintum est, quod nullus nostrum in comitatu Uffegd de Cardigan ausus esset venire inter Anglicos propter timorem carceris et nisi fuisset propter periculum Nobilibus Metrop. nihil contra honoram domini regis moverent.

Significant vero quod omnes Christiani habent leges et consuetudines in eorum propriis terris; Judæi vero inter Anglicos habent leges, ipsi vero in terris suis, et eorum antecessores habuerunt leges immutabiles et consuetudines, donec Anglia post ultimam guerram ab eis leges suas abstulerunt.

Memorandum de quærelis omnium nobilium virorum de Ystradatuy eisdem latis ac factis per Rogerum de Clyfford, & Rogerum Croscil vicem domini Rogeri de Clyfford gerentem contra privilegium, justitiam, et consuetudinem prædictorum virorum de Ystratuy, ut dicunt et probant.

Primus articulus est quod cum dicti Rogeri cogerunt dictos homines de Ystradatuy reddere sibi pro consuetudinibus suis viginti Marcas sterlingorum, et post solutionem dictæ pecuniæ cito fregerunt in hunc modum, quod posuerunt super

17 viros

17 viros judicantes secundum jus Angliæ; quod nunquam fuit consuetudo nec privilegium dictæ patriæ.

ITEM. Madecus filius Bledyn condemnatus fuit in quatuor Marcio injustè.

ITEM. Lewelinus Rufus condemnatus fuit in quinque Marcis et 17 averiis contra privilegium et consuetudinem patriæ.

ITEM. Quod ipsi Rogeri fecerunt forestam super terram propriam virorum patriæ: et propter pedem unius cervi inventum id ore canis alicujus, tres homines fuerunt spoliati omnino.

ITEM. Michael ab Ygustyl condemnatus fuit in decem solidis pro facto patris sui, quadraginta annis elapsis.

ITEM. Cogerunt parentes Ennii à Strabonis ad reddendum suum relevagum in vita sua.

ITEM. Quod ipsi posuerunt super nos omnes satellitos de Anglicis, quod nunquam fuit nostra dimidietas.

ITEM. Dati fuimus domino Mauritio de Crumy, et vinditi fuimus domino Rogero de Clyfford, quod nunquam fuit super parentes nostros.

ITEM. Roberti de Monte alto petiit, à domino rege tertiam partem terræ de Monte alto in Ward, et dijudicata fuit coram domino rege quod numquam dicta terra fuit in Ward data.

Hi sunt articuli quæstionum illati ab hominibus de Penlhyn, injuste per constabularium Albi Monasterii & suos cives.

PRIMO. Cynwric filius Madoci fuit spoliatus ab eis tempore pacis octo libris, et quatuor bobus, et blado laboris unius aratri, per duos annos et valore trium librarum à tribus hominibus ejusdam; affirmat etiam quod solvet 16 libras per octo in valore, et majorem habuit injuriam imponendo manus in ipsum quam totum quod amisit, quia tunc erat constabularius domini principis apud Penllyn: non fuit alia causa dictæ spoliationis nisi quia dicebatur invenire 24 garbas de decimis in domo cujusdam hominis dicti Cynwrici.

ITEM. Adam Preco condemnatus fuit in septem solidis & octo denariis, et equa valoris unius libræ, imponendo manus in ipsum et liberando latronem dictæ equæ, quia ipse venerat ibidem cum dicto latrone capto.

ITEM. Endenot ab Gruffydh condemnatus fuit in 27 s. nec fuit causa nisi quia vendidit equam unam ad unum miliare citra villam, sicut solebant à tempore quo non extat memoria, quando veniebant ad nundinas.

ITEM. Adaf Ddu condemnatus fuit in 30 s. eo quod duo boves quos proposuerat vendere in foro Albi Monasterii exibant villam ipso conveniente, et captus fuit et detentus usque ad solutionem 30 s. nec ipsi boves exierant nisi da Plateo qua stabant usque ad aliam Plateam.

ITEM,

Item. Biryt filius Gwyn, condemnatus fuit in quinque solidis, et in carcerem ductus; eo quod percussit unum bovem indomitum ipsum calcantem in foro.

Item. Yorwerch ab Gorgonon condemnatus fuit 7 s. eo quod evaserat quondam de carcere eorum tempore guerræ, et in tempore pacis inventus fuit in dicta villa, et hoc contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum regem, et dominum principem.

Item. Duo famuli Kenwric ap Gruffydh condemnati fuerunt in duabus Marcis, eo quod dicebant ipsos non solvisse toletum postquam solverant.

Item. Caducanus Niger famulus constabularii de Penlyhyn captus fuit et condemnatus in 6 s. et 4 d. eo quod nolebat recipere veterem monetam pro nova.

Item. Gruffydh ap Goronow *tercinarius* domini Principis spoliatus fuit uno bove valoris 11 s. et 8 d. et postquam arraverat constabularius cum dicto bove per septem menses, solvit dictus Gruffynus pro dicto bove, 40 d. A servant.

Item. Howel ap David spoliatus fuit per satellites albi Monasterii duobus solidis extra villam, eo quod denegaverat prius munera ut solent satellites petere.

Item. David ab Gronow ab Eynion spoliatus fuit 30 s. eo quod quidem cives albi monasterii dixit, *quod quidem de Penlhyn, qui mortuus fuerat*, denegabatur ei in quibusdam rebus.

Item. Duo famuli Y bongam capti fuerunt et condemnati in duabus libris, eo quod posuerunt manum in quendam latronem qui spoliabat eos in villa per noctem, et liberaverunt latronem.

Item. Eneyon filius Ichael captus et verberatus fuit, et spoliatus duobus bobus valoris, 24 s. et 6 d. nulla alia de causa, nisi quod boves ipso connivente moverunt se de platea ad iliam plateam.

Item. Adaf ap Ychael condemnatus fuit in duabus libris pro una libra, et ipse posuerat in juramento cujusdam civis de albo monasterio quod non tenebatur nisi in una libra pro principe, nec voluit jurare, et ideo spoliatus fuit una libra.

Item. Guyan Maestran spoliatus fuit 5 s. eo quod dicebat quod quidam Mercator de Ardydwy tenebatur eis in quibusdam rebus, cum ipse nec erat de dicta Balliva: item condemnatus fuit in 8 d. quia dicebant ipsum vendere quasdam oves extra villam cum ipse non vendiderat.

Item. Famulus Lewelini ab Gwyn spoliatus fuit septem ovibus, et 5 s. et suo pallio, eo quod dicebant ipsum esse de domino Griffydh ab Gwyn cum ipse non erat.

Item. Iorwerch ab Meylir captus fuit et condemnatus in 15 s. cum pallio, eo quod denegavit dare munus satellitibus quod petebant, ipsi finxerunt eum in villa pernoctare.

Item. Cives albi monasterii rapuerunt à Madoco Ruso filio Ychael unum bovem valoris, 11 s. et 6 d.

 Ista

Ista omnia facta fuerunt per Henricum Gamber dicti loci constabularium, cum aliis innumerabilibus articulis.

Item. Ybicre captus fuit in negotio domini principis, et condemnatus in 5 s. absque aliqua causa.

Hæc sunt gravamina Goronow filii Heylyn, viz.

Quod quidem Villanus dictus Coronon vocatus fuit ad curium domini regis occasione indebitæ causæ. Tunc dictus Goronow venit ad suum villanum defendendum, et petiit pro ipso veritatem à domino justiciario, aut legem qua utuntur homines suæ patriæ; omnibus autem his eidem denegatis, dictus villanus condemnatus fuit in 27 libris, et tribus obolis: tunc dictus Goronow adivit Londonium pro justitia habenda, et expendit quinque Marcas et quatuor Solidos, et promissa fuit sibi justitia, et nullam fuit assecutus.

Item. Quidam nobilis fuit interfectus, videlicet, qui nutriverat filium dicti Goronow, et ille interfector captus fuit et deportatus fuit apud castrum de Ruthlan: tunc dictus Goronow et quidem de parentela interfecti petierunt justitiam de interfectore: tunc denegata eis justititia, quidam fuerunt incarcerati, et ille interfector fuit in Castello liberatus. Tunc dictus Goronow interum adivit Londonium propter supradicta gravamina ad justitiam petendam, et expendit, 20 Marcas, 3 s. 4 d. Et dominus rex promisit eidem plenariam justititiam, et nullam fuit adeptus cum pervenit ad patriam suam.

Item. Tertio ex defectu justitiæ oportuit dictum Goronow adire Londonium occasionibus supradictis pro justitia petendā, ex expendit illa vice 18 Marcars, 6 s. 8 d. bonæ et legalis Monetæ; et tunc simpliciter promisit dominus rex eidem justitiam perhibere; et quando credebat habere justitiam, tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, et dixit aperte quod ipse deberit tractare totam patriam per chartas domini regis, et abstulit totam Ballivam à dicto Goronow; quam sibi dominus rex concessit, et vendidit illam Ballivam ad voluntatem suam, et tunc petiit dictus Goronow justitiam à domino Reginaldo de gravaminibus supradictis, et nullam fuit adeptus.

Item. Dictus Goronow recepit terram, videlicet, Penmaen et Lysfaen adfirmam de Godfrido Merlyn, usque ad finem quatuor annorum pro certa pecuniæ summa. Tunc Robertus de Cruquer venit cum equis suis et armis ad quærendum dictam terram per vim, et quia dictus Goronow non permitteret auferre dictam terram ab eodem usque terminum præsignatum, tunc vocatus fuit ad curiam dictus Goronow illa occasione; tunc venit Reginaldus de Grey, cum viginti quatuor equitibus armatis ad proponendum capere dictum Goronow, vel ad eundem decapitandum; et quia viderunt quod non possent implere suum propositum illo die, vocaverunt dictum Goronow crastino die apud Ruthlan, et tunc dictus Goronow habuit consilium ita quod non deberent adire dictam curiam: iterum dictus Goronow vocatus fuit adplacitum apud Caerwys, et non ausus fuit adire dictum placitum nisi per conductm domini episcopi Asaphensis, quia dictus Reginaldus et sui complures ibidem erant armati.

Item. Propter ista gravamina de quibus nullam habuit justitiam nisi laborare et expendere duas libr. quatuor Marcas, et 9 d; et quia non ausus fuit in proprio persona adire curiam, misit quendam nunciam deportantem duas literas, unam ad dominum regem, et aliam ad fratrem Lewelinum, ad signadum domino regi quod amitteret totam patriam, et dictum Goronow quia non observavit illud quod eisdem promisit; et quia nullam possent homines de Ros et Arglifeld assequi justitiam, et quia noluit corrigere sive emendare ista gravamina propter hoc amisit totam patriam.

Supplicant sanctitati vestræ, domine archipiescope Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, nobiles viri de Tegengyl, et vobis demonstrant quod cum prædicti nobiles fecerunt homagium domino Edwardo regi Angliæ, ipse rex eisdem promisit quod eosdem immunes observaret et indemnes, tam in bonis, libertatibus, juribus, jurisdictionibus, privilegiis quibus usi fuerunt tempore Henrici regis per suum obtentum privilegium; ex quibus privilegiis fuerunt postmodo spoliati.

Imprimis. Juribus et consuetudinibus partiæ fuerunt spoliati, viz. prædictus Edwardus compellendo quod ipsi procederent in causis secundum legem Anglicanam, cum secundum tenorem privilegii sui secundum legem Wallicanam procedere debuissent, viz. apud Tref Edwyn, et apud Ruthlan, et apud Caerwys; et optimati de patria fuerunt manu capti quia ipsi provocabant quod ipsi procederent in causa apud Tref Edwyn secundum legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam secundum tenorem privilegii.

Secundo. Quia unus justiciarius duceret in causis peragendis, alius suus prædecessor in irritum revocaret, viz. in causa Davidis Reginaldus de Grey recitavit, processum quem suus antecessor ratum habuit, et etiam approbavit.

Tertio. Quod si unus nobilis de patria fuisset propter calumniam sibi impositam captus, quod non remitterent eundem pro *cautione fidevissoria* evadere, quod facere debuissent. Surety.

Quarto. Quod tres unius nobilis deducti ad castrum fuerunt de Flynt, propter parvam accusationem, una cum averiis suis, nec potuerunt de castro devenire, nec dilationem obtinere donec unusquisque dedit unum bovem constabulario de Flynt, et donec solverunt tres libras Kynwrico Seis pro dilatione habenda.

Quinto. Reginaldus de Grey terras virorum de Merton dedit et concessit abbati de Basingwerk ordinis Cisterciend. contra legem Wallicanam, et patræ consuetudim; et contra formam pacis initæ inter dominum Lewelinum principem et dominum regem, viz. 16 cantatas terræ.

Sexto. Mirantur nobiles et optimati patriæ pro eo quod dominus rex fecit ædificare castrum super terram et possessionem magnatum, et mandavit dominus rex justiciario suo quod ipse solveret eque bonam terram illis spoliatis et adhuc aliquam terram, nec suæ terræ æstimationem sunt consecuti in Flynt.

Septimo. Reginaldus de Grey non permitteret possessores sylvarum uti sylvis suis, donec ab eisdem pretium et præmium fuisset consecutus, et aliis rusticis gratis permitteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere, cum non debuissent secundum patriæ consuetudinem et legem Wallicanam.

Octavo. Cum homines de Cyrchynan fecerunt pactum cum domino rege, quod cum ipsi concederent dimidietatem cujusdam prati, ad hoc quod dominus rex non permitteret sylvam prædictorum abscidere Howelo filio Gruffydd præsente, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictum pratum infirmavit, viz. concedendo aliis quod absciderent sylvam prædictorum, et eosdem dimidietate prati sui spoliando.

Nono. Filius Kynwrici ab Goronow fuit captus apud Ruthlan culpa sua minime præcedente, nisi vellet pignus suum *acquietare* a quoddam muliere, et constabularius de Ruthlan fecit eundem detradi in carcerem injuriose, nec potuit exinde deliberari donec prædictus fuit condemnatus ultra suorum bonorum *hypotheca*.

Redeem the gage.

Velua.

Decimo. Cum ballivus de Ruthlan erat in convivio apud villam Four Hutmus de Limayl quendam virum nobilem crudeliter vulneravit in præsentia ballivi supradicti; cujus vulneris occasione prædictus Hutmus fuit in octo libris condemnatus: et quum ille cui injuria fuisset facta petere voluisset prædictas libras, eundem fecit detrudi in carcerem una.

Undecimo. Nuntii Reginaldi de Grey proposuerunt facere illud quod erat absurdum et dissonum juris secundum canonicas sanctiones; videlicet petere ab eisdem quod ipsi ararent Reginaldo de Grey, et quod ipsi seminarent illam araturam; et illi fuerunt nuntii, viz. Kynwricus Seis et Hutmus de Limayl, quod prædictus vero Kynwricus in præsentia omnium de patria juravit, nisi omnes de patria ararent quod ipsi infra tempus pœniterent, et ipsi multum timuerunt metu qui potuit cadere in constantem virum.

Duodecimo. Quod præcones de Tegeyngl emerunt officium præconiæ pro 30 marcis a domino rege, et postmodum Reginaldus de Grey prædictos præcones tam pecunia quam præconia spoliavit contra legem et consuetudinem Anglicanam.

Tertiodecimo. Septem nobiles fuerunt interfecti minus juste ab Anglicis, et adhuc parentes prædictorum aliquam satisfactionem non habuerunt, cum illi malefactores fuerunt capti; et postmodum prædictos malefactores remiserunt prædicti constabularii impunitos.

Quartodecimo. Canstabularius unus de Ruthlan detradit duos Satellites domini regis in carcere, pro eo quod ipsi tenuerunt aliquem Anglicum qui grave delictum commisit hominem alium vulnerando.

Isti omnes articuli in præmissis nominati, fuerunt perpetrati contra prædictorum virorum libertatem, jurisdictionem, et privilegium et contra legem et consuetudinem Wallicanam; videlicet, quod non erant ausi eorum quærelas domino regi per suos nuncios denuntiare, propter metum Reginaldi et timorem, qui metus potuit

potuit cadere in constantem virum: quia prædictus Reginaldus sua voce Dilvada fuit protestatus; quod sin inveniret nuntios prædictorum quod eosdem decapitaret prout nobis ex parte unius ex consilio suo fuit certive intimatum. In tantum quod lingua non potest proferre, nec penna scribere in quantum prædicti homines de Tegeyngl fuerunt aggravati. Openly.

CONQUERITUR vobis, domine archiepiscope Cantuariensis totius Angliæ primas, Lewelinus filius Griffini filii Madoci de constabulario de cruce Oswaldi regis, et de hominibus ejusdem villæ, qui prædictum Lewelinum tertia parte cujusdam villæ quæ vocatur Ledrot, et curia patris sui, sine observatione juris patriæ suæ vel consuetudine inequiter spoliarunt.

PRÆTEREA. Prædictus constabularius et sui complures eundem Lewelinum communi pastura, qua prædictus Lewelinus usus fuit temporibus retroactis, ordine juris patriæ minime observaro, spoliarunt, et in 70 libris occasione prædictæ pasturæ condemnaverint. Cæterum dominu rex Angliæ concessit quasdam literas cuidam Bastardo, scilicet Griffino Fychan ab Cynlhaeth, ad litigandum contra eundum Lewelinum pro toto domino suo obtinendo, quarum literarum occasione idem Lewelinus expendit cc l. sterlingorum legalis usualisæ monetæ.

ITERUM. Prædictus constabularius compulsit prædictum Lewelinum ad mittendum duos suos nobiles ad eos suspendendos ad prædictum constabularium quicquid viri nobiles suspendi minime debuissent, quam suspensionem nollent parentes prædictorum hominum sustinuisse pro ccc libris sterlingorum. Postmidum prædictus constabularius incacerravit bis 60 homines prædicti Lewelini nulla præmissa ratione, nisi quod quidam gareo emisit quandam vocem, nec potuerunt evadere suum carcerem donec quilibet eorum solvit decem solidos pro sua deliberatione.

ITEM. Quando homines prædicti Lewelini venirent ad forum ad suos boves vendendos, prædictus constabularius faceret boves deduci ad castrum, nec postmodum boves restituerit, nec pretium solveret venditori: præsertim idem constabularius et sui ceperunt jumenta prædicti Lewelini ad terram suam propriam, et de eisdem jumentis fecerunt suam voluntatem.

PRÆTEREA. Justiciarii domini regis compulserunt prædictum Lewelinum ad tradendum quandam villam filiis Eneoni filii Griffini; qui quidem prædictam villam, nec a se, nec a prædecessoribus fuerunt consecuti, ordine juris patriæ suæ in hac parte minime observato.

IDEM. Prædictus constabularius abstulit equum ballivi prædicti Lewelini sine aliqua ratione, nec sibi aliquid debebatur; nec adhuc prædictus ballivus satisfactionem aliquam est consecutus.

CÆTERUM. Quando prædictus Lewelinus volebat adire villam quæ vocatur Caerlleon cum literis domini regis ad comperiendum ibidem in die sibi assignata; filii Griffini filii Gwenynny et armigeri domini Rogeri Starainge ex consilio Rogeri eundem Lewelinum et suos incarcerarunt in sui injuriam et suorum non modicam læsionem; quam injuriam et læsionem nollet prædictus Lewelinus et

sui

sui sustinuisse pro ccc marcis sterlingorum; nec ab eisdem potuit evadere donec invenit pro se sufficientem cautionem.

His et aliis receptis in scriptis accessit, archiepiscopus ad dominum regem; supplicans ei humiliter ut gravamina suppradicta dignetur avertere, et ea correctione debita terminare: et saltem pro tanto habere excessus Wallensium excusatos: qui respondit Wallenses injuriis sibi illatis esse excusabiles, quia omni tempore poratus extiterat omni facere justitiam conquerenti: quo audito, archiepiscopus regi iterum supplicavit ut permitteret Wallenses pro suis gravaminibus exponendis et remediis afferendiis ap ipsum habere accessum liberum et regressum: qui respondit quod libere permitteret eos ad se accedere sed et redira; si secundum justitiam regressus eorum meritis responderet. Quibus auditis accessit archiepiscopus ad principem Walliæ in Snawdoniam ut tam ipsum quam Davidum fratrem suum et cæteros Wallenses ad aliquam humilitatis regulam ipsorum animos inclinaret; per quam posset qui ipsorum nuntius regiam clementiam ad ipsos admittendos in graciam inclinare. Post varios autem tractatus respondit princeps: quod paratus erat voluntati regiæ sa supponere duobus præsuppositis, salva scilicet conscientia sua qua populo suo assistere tenebatur; salva etiam condescentia status sui. Quæ cum archiepiscopus retulisset domino regi, respondit dominus rex quod nullum alium de pace volebat cum principe ac subditis suis habere tractatum, nisi quod ipsi supponerent se in omnibus regiæ voluntati: et cum constaret archiepiscopo Wallenses nullo modo velle se regiæ voluntati supponere, nisi præcite in forma eis tolerabili et accepta, tractatum habuit ex permissioni domini regis cum magnatibus tunc præsentibus, qui omnes consenserunt in articulos infra scriptos, quos per fratrem Joannem Wallensem inscriptos principi et suis archiepiscopus destinavit.

Primo. Quod dominus rex de quatuor cantredis et terris ab eo datis, magnatibus suis nullum vult habere tractatum, nec etiam de insula Anglesey.

Idem. De tenentibus eorum cantredorum si ad suam pacem venerint, proponit facere prout condecet regiam majestatem, credimus tamen quod aget cum eis misericorditer si ad pacem venerint, et ad hoc proponimus una cum cæteris amicis efficaciter laborare, sperantes efficaciter exaudiri.

Item. De facto domini Lewelini nullum potuimus aliud habere responsum nisi quod simpliciter et absolute conformet ad domini regis voluntatem, ut credimus firmiter quod dominus rex cum eo aget miserecorditer, et ad hoc intendimus cum totis viribus laboraro cum cæteris amicis exaudiendis ut confidimus cum effectu.

Primo. Quod proceres hanc formam gratiæ regiæ conceperunt; ut videlicet domino Lewelino se regiæ gratiæ submittente, provideatur ei per regem honorifice in mille libratis sterlingorum de aliquo honorifico comitatu, in aliquo loco Angliæ; ita tamen quod prædictus Lewelinus ponat dominum regem in Seysina Snaudonum absolute, perpetue et quiete. Et ipse rex filiæ principis secundum condicestiam sui proprii sanguinis providebit, et ad hoc sperant se posse regis animum inclinare.

Item.

Item. Si contingat, Lewelinum ducere uxorem et habere de ea puellam masculam, intendunt impetrare proceres a domino rege, ut proles illa succedat perpetuo hæreditario Lewelini in terra masculorum liberorum videlicet comitatu.

Item. De populo principi immediate subjecto tam in Snaudon quam alibi providebiter secundum deum prout complete saluti ejusdem populi et honori; et ad hoc est regia clementia satis prona, populo desiderans consolabiliter providere.

Primo. Quod si ad honorem Dei et suum juxta crucis assumptæ debitum velit in terræ sanctæ subsidium proficisci, providebitur ei honorifice secundum condescentiam status sui, ita tamen quod non redeat nisi per regiam clementiam vocatus: rogabimus etiam dominum regem, et speramus efficaciter exaudiri, ut provideat proli suæ.

His omnibus motu nostro subjungimus Wallensibus omnia pericula imminere longe gravius quam eis diximus oraculo vivæ vocis: scribimus dure valde sed longe durius est obrui vi et armis, et in fine totaliter extirpari, quoniam omni die pericula nobis imminentia aggravantur.

Item. Longe difficilius est omni tempore in *guerra esse* in angustia cordis et corporis vivere, et semper in insidiis malignari, et cum hoc vivere et mori in peccato mortali continuo et rancore.

Item. De quo doleremus valde si ad pacem minime veniatis, indubitanter timemus contra vos debere sententiam ecclesiasticam intolerabiliter aggravari pro excessibus vestris; de quibus non poteritis vos aliquatenus excusare in quibus invenietis misericordiam, si ad pacem veniatis et de his nobis respondeatur in scriptis.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino J. *Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi ac totius Angliæ primati suus in Christo devotus filius Lewelinus princeps Walliæ, dominus Snaudon, salutem cum desideriis benevolentiæ filialis ac reverentiis multimodis et honoribus.*

Sancte pater, sicut vosmet consuluists, ad gratiam regiam parati sumus venire sub forma tamen nobis secura et honesta: sed quia forma contenta in articulis nobis missis minime secura est et honesta prout nobis et consilio nostro videtur; et de qua multum admirantur omnes audientes, eo quod plus tendit ad destructionem et ruinam populi nostri ac nostram, quam ad nostram honestatem et securitatem, nullo modo permittit consilium nostrum nos in ea consentire si vellemus; alii quoque nobiles et populus nobis subjectus nullo modo consentirent in eandem ob indubitatam destructionem et dissipationem quæ inde eis possent evenire.

Tamen

Tamen supplicamus vestræ sanctæ parternitati quatenus ad reformationem pacis debitæ, honestæ, et secutæ, ob quam tot labores assumpsistis, proinde laboretis, collationem habentes ad articulos quos vobis mittimus in scriptis: honorabilius enim est et rationi magis consonum ut de domino rege teneamus terras in quibus jus habemus, quam nos exhæredare et eas tradere alienis. Datum apud Garthcelyn.

Primo. Quod licet dominus rex de quatuor Cantredis et aliis terris ab eo datis magnatibus suis, ac de Insula Anglesey nullum voluerit habere tractatùm, tamen consilium principis non permittit, si contingat aliquam pacem fieri, quin tractetur de premissis; eo quod isti Cantredi sunt de puro principis tenemento, in quibus merum jus habuerunt principes et prædecessores sui à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti, tum quia sunt de principatu, cujus confirmationem princeps obtinet pro bonæ memoriæ Octobonum sedis *Apostolicæ* legatum in Anglia, consensu domini regis et sui patris ad hoc interveniente, sicut pater Chartas eorum inspicienti, tum quia etiam equius est quod veri hæredes teneant dictos Cantredos de domino rege pro pecunia et servitiis consuetis, quam eos dari extraneis et Advenis, qui et si fuerunt regere aliquam tamen per vim et potentiam.

Pope.

Dicunt etiam comiter omnes tenentes de omnibus Cantredis Walliæ quod non sunt ausi venire ad voluntatem regis ut de eis disponat secundum regiam majestatem.

Primo. Quod dominus rex nec pacta, nec juremanta, nec Chartas servavit ab initio versus dominum suum principem et ipsos.

Secundo. Quia regales in ecclesias et ecclesiasticas personas inivit crudelissimam tyrannidem.

Tertio. Quod non tenentur ad prædicta, cum sint homines principis qui etiam paratus est de dictis tenementis domino regi obedire per servitia consueta. Ad id quod dicit quod princeps veniet simpliciter et absolute ad voluntatem domini regis: respondetur quod cum nulli de dictis Cantredis ausi sint venire ad talem voluntatem propter causas prædictas, nec comitas eorum permittat principem venire ad dictam voluntatem modo prædicto.

Item. Quod proceres regni procurent ut domino principi provideatur in mille libratis in aliquo loco Angliæ; dicatur quod illam provisionem non debet acceptare cum sit procurata per dictos proceres, qui nituntur ad exhæreditationem principis, ut habeant terras suas in Wallia. Item idem princeps non tenetur dimittere hæreditatem suam et progenitorum suorum in Wallia à tempore Bruti, et etiam sibi confirmatam per Romanæ sedis legatum, ut dictum est; et terram in Anglia acceptare, unde linguam, mores et leges ac consuetudines ignorat; ubi possent etiam sibi quædam malitiori imponi ex odio inveterato à vicinis Anglicis quibus terra illa privaretur in perpetuum.

Item. Ex quo rex proponit privare principem sua pristina hæreditate, non videtur probabile quod rex permitteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur

probabile quod rex permitteret ei habere terram in Anglia ubi nullum jus videtur habere. Et ſi etiam non permitteretur principi terra ſterilis et inculta jure hæreditario ab antiquo et debita in Wallia; nullatenus permitteretur eidem in Anglia terra fertilis culta et habundans.

ITEM. Quod dictus princeps ponat dominum regem in Seyſino Snawdon abſolute, perpetue et quiete: dicatur quod cum Snawdon ſit de appendiciis principatus Walliæ, quem ipſe et anteceſſores ſui tenuerunt à tempore Bruti, ut dictum eſt; conſilium ſuum non permittit eum renuntiare dicto loco, et locum nimis ſibi debitum in Anglia receptare.

ITEM. Populus Snawdon dicit, quod licet princeps vellet dare regi Seyſinam eorundem, ipſi tamen nollent homagium facere alicui extraneo, cujus linguam, mores, legeſque penitus ignorant. Quia ſic poſſet contingere eos in perpetuum captivari, ac crudeliter tractari, ſicut alii Cantredi circumquaque per Ballivos regis ac alios regales alias tractati fuerunt, crudelius quam Saraceni; prout patet in rotulis quos vobis miſerunt ſancte pater. Iſta ſunt dicenda pro Davide fratre principis. Quod cum voluerit terram ſanctam adire hoc faciet voluntarie et ex voto pro Deo non pro homine, unde invitus non peregrinabitur Deo dante: qui coacta ſervitia Deo novit diſplicere. Et ſi contingat ipſum in poſterum terram ſanctam adire bona ductus voluntate, non propter hoc deberent ipſe et hæredes ſui in perpetuum exhæreditari; immò potius præmium obtinere. Præterea quia princeps, et ſui cauſa odii, ad aliquos concipiendi, vel lucri captandi non moverunt guerram alienas terras invadendo; ſed ſuam propriam hæreditatem jura libertateſque, necnon ſuorum defendendo; dominuſque rex et ſui odio inveterato, et cauſa lucrandi terras noſtras guerram fecit: credimus in hoc juſtam guerram nos fovere, et ſperamus in hac Deum nos velle juvare, ac in eccleſiarum devaſtatores divinam ultionem convertere, qui eccleſias funditus deſtruxerunt ac combuſſerunt, ſacra ex eis rapuerunt, Sacerdotes, Clericos, regilioſos, claudos, ſurdos, mutos, infantes, ubera lactentes, ac debiles et miſerabiles perſonas, ut uſque ſexu occiderunt; et alia enormia perpetrarunt, ſicut in dictis rotulis vobis tranſmiſſis contineatur: unde abſit à ſancta paternitate veſtra ſententiam aliquam fulminare in alios quam in illos qui prædicta perpetrârunt. Nos enim qui regalibus prædicta paſſi fuimus, ſperamus à vobis ſuper præmiſſis paternum ſolatium, et remedium obtinere; et in prædictos ſacrilegos eorumque fautores, qui nullo ſuper his privilegio defenduntur, animadvertere; ne præ defectu dignæ correctionis ſeu ultionis in eos exercendo prædicta mala in perpetuum per alios trahantur in exemplum.

MIRANTUR etiam quamplures in terra noſtra, quod conſuluiſtis nobis dimittere terram noſtram propriam, et alienam adire inter hoſtes noſtros comerſando; quia ex quo non poſſumus pacem habere in terra quæ noſtra eſt ipſo jure noſtro, minime poterimus in aliena terra inter hoſtes noſtros pacifice conſervari: et licet durum ſit in guerra et inſidiis vitam ducere; durius tamen eſt funditus deſtrui, et ad nihilum, niſi Deus avertat, deduci populum Chriſtianum qui nihil aliud quærit

niſi

nisi sua jura defendere; unde necessitas ad hoc nos cogit, et inimicorum cupiditas non offendit; et vos, sancte pater, coram nobis dixistis, quod vos sententiastis in omnes qui impediunt pacem causa odii vel lucri; sed manifestum est qui sunt illi qui guerrant istis causis.

Timor enim mortis, et incarcerationis, vel perpetuæ exhæreditationis, nulla observatio fœderum pactorum vel chartarum, tyrannica dominatio, vel multa alia consimilia cogunt nos esse in guerris; et hoc Deo et vobis ostendimus, et petimus à vobis paternum adjutorium, ut patet in literis nostris.

Ad hoc multi alii in regno Angliæ offenderunt regem et tamen nullos exhæredavit in perpetuum, ut dicitur; unde si aliqui ex nostris ipsum offenderunt injuste, dignum est ut satisfaciant prout possint sine exhæredatione; et sicut in vobis confidimus, supplicamus quod ad hoc laboretis sancte pater: nam etsi nobis imponatur quod fregimus pacem, tamen illi verius fregerunt qui nullum fœdus vel pactum nobis sevaverunt; qui nullam emendam de quærimoniis nobis fecerunt, ut patet in rotulis.

Primo auditis rescripsit Archiepiscopus Wallensibus in hæc verba:

IN nomine domini, Amen. Cum nos frater J. permissione divina Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis totius Angliæ primas, scientes nostro incumbere officio, pro vobis domine Leweline princeps Walliæ ac subditis vestris exponere nos et nostra spretis viarum incommodis et periculis, vestram adjuverimus præsentiam oves erroneas reducturi; et speculatoris fungentis officio vobis mysteriæ vivæ vocis diximus pericula quæ genti vestræ videbamus luce clarius imminere, subjunctis remediis eorundem; teste optantes altissimo juxta pontificale debitum cuilibet vestrum ecclesiam minimo de corpore nostro pontem facere ad salutis littora reducendo. Tandem vestris auditis precibus et angustiis eas ut necessitatis vestræ nuntius præsentavimus regiæ majestati, quem ab olim ad pœnitentes adversarios introitum scimus esse propitium; ut quidam de vestris et aliis ut nobis certis constat indiciis ipsius clementia abutantur. Tractavimus insuper cum magnatibus et proceribus Angliæ præsentibus de modifacione gratiæ regiæ ipsorum assistentia nostris vobis supplicationibus impretranda, cujus modificationis seriem per servum Dei fratrem Johannem Wallensem vobis misimus in scriptum, una cum consilio nostro quod vobis secundum deum salubrius videbatur; vos autem deliberationem vestram nobis in quadam remisistis cedula per eundem, cujus cedulæ pernitiosas latebras vobis paterno affectu præsentibus aperimus. Primò igitur dictis vos juri nolle cedere quatuor Cantredarum, quia progenitores vestri à temporibus Cambri filii Bruti in eisdem juris plenitudinem habuerunt; sed ne simpliciores in vobis de successu hujusmodi glorientur, salva in omnibus pace vestra, vobis licet inviti ipsius radicem originis ex gestis Britonum et Anglorum ad memoriam revocamus. Dispersis enim olim Trojanis pro eo quod Paridis adulterium defensarunt; fatemur progenitores vestræ multitudinis interpositis quibusdam

quibusdam seditionibus fugæ sibi præsidium assumpsisse; et utinam non maneat in eis hujusmodi contagii memoria qui sic libera matrimonia parvipendunt ut spurios et incestu genitos à successione hæreditaria ut dicitur non repellunt, quin potius uxores legitimæ Howeli da patrociniæ, contra Evangelium dato repudio fama teste, vel potius infamia repelluntur; qualiter demum Brutus Dianæ præsagiis non sine diaboli præstigiis per idolatriam immolato Cervæ Venatitiæ obtentis, insulam Britannicam pervaserit per famosas historias declaratur; pervaserit inquam inhabitatam insulam, agentibus statura proceris quarum peremit fortissimum Corineus. Gentibus inquam de boreali prasapia quæ non solum . . . . verum etiam Scythiam trans Danubium ab occidente nostro per Aquilonis latera usque in Orientales terminos occupavit. Quam ergo quæsumus fecerunt vobis injuriam Angli et Saxones ejusdem generis, si vos processu temporis ab usurpato dominio perturbarunt: cum scriptum esse noveritis, væ qui prædaris in omne prædaberis. Non oportet autem simplices in radice adulterina processu idololatriæ, et usurpationis spoliis gloriari. Progenitores insuper vestri moderniores, cum enervati deliciis sibi non sufficerent defenlandis, obruentibus eos Scotis et Pictis, denegato etiam eis Romani imperii præsidio postulato, ad Germanorum refugium convolârunt, qui venientes repudiarunt, hostes usque in præsentem diem suarum labores manuum manducantes. Ex his causis quum sedet sola à vobis insula olim populo plenâ, vestro proscribente Jeremia, quia prophetæ tui viderunt tibi vana et stulta; item prædictorum juribus Cantredorum confirmationem legati frivole allegatis, cum non fuerit intentionis suæ jura regia, seu etiam jura civilia et Canonica, sicut nec potuit enervare: pro crimine enim lesæ majestatis, in quod vos incidisse dicimini, juxta quod scribitur sexta quæstione. Secunda paragrapho; *Si quis cum militibus*, et 22. Quæst. *ultima capitulo* de forma fidelitatis. Omne perit jus hæreditarium et expirat: in Cantredis igitur prædictis in quibus ab olim domino regi jus dicitur adquisitum, et in Snawdon ac cæteris quæ teneris jure hæreditario, nihil potestis sicut nec subditi vestri, ut ex præallegatis videtur, nisi ex sola regia clementia præstolari. Dicitur demum quod populus non vult ad gratiam regiam convolare, quia dominus rex, nec pacta, nec juramenta, nec chartarum fœdera principi conservavit. Et nos quærimus ex cujus v[illegible]
istud sit judicio declaratum, nisi per vos qui in causa propria judici[illegible]
et per singulas lustrales periodos pacem infringitis, innocentes [illegible]
dia facitis, munitiones regias pro viribus vastatis; ac domini [illegible]
injuriarum remedia in lege sua quam vidimus instituit, a[illegible]
lus delegavit. Præterea in regem impungitis, dicent[illegible]
et personas ecclesiasticas crudeli vastavit tyrannide, [illegible]
liter respondemus, quod dominus rex prædicta [illegible]
rata habuit, quin potius nobis obtulit ultronei [illegible]
ecclesiarum proponit dispendia resacire; c[illegible]
tempestatem, ne si prius fieret destruerent[illegible]
in Anglia honor[illegible] suscipere, ne confe[illegible]
cum tamen fateamini quod domin[illegible]

quod frustra vos timere credimus, si legaliter vivere vos et vestri didiceritis, et non a parti cum domino vestro contendere vel certare. Mores vobis et populo vestro causamini incognitos; et nos è contrario opinamur quod expediret vobis omnibus in modum alium et mores penitus transformari. Cum enim sitis sicut cæteri homines donis Dei gratuitis adornati, sed in vestro Anglo devoramini: ut nec ecclesiam juvetis contra hostes fidei militando; nec Clerum studio sapientiæ, exceptis paucissimis, decoretis; quin potius major pars vestrum torpet otio et lasciviis, ut pene nesciat mundus vos esse populum, nisi per paucos ex vobis qui videntur ut plurimum in—mendicare. Deinde scribitis quod creditis altissimum vos juvare pro justitia decretantes; utinam inquam altissimus juvet vos salubriter et dirigat ad salutem. Sed ne ruinas aliquas Anglorum ex inconsideratione sua provenientes vestris velitis meritis arrogare curetis advertere qualiter qui in cœlis habitat fatuos sublimat et elevat ad modicum ut perpetuo allidat; sic certe olium populus Dei electus ante harum repertam civitatem pro unius Anathemate consortis versus in fugam quosdam suorum perdidit bellatorum: sic certe quater centena millia bellatorum duodecim tribuum Israel in suo numero et fortitudine confidentes ab unius tribus modico populo, occisis ex 40 millibus bellatorum, per vices varias sunt confusi: cum tamen purgato unius Anathemate, prædicta Civitas finaliter deleleta fuerit per illos, qui prius confusi fuerant, et per lacrymas placato domino cum jejuniis, oblatis sacrificiis, tribus illa quæ prævaluerat prius, per prius confusos quasi totaliter sit deleta; sic certe aliter flagellat dominus filios quos recipit, et aliter quos decernit ut arbores steriles extirpare. Ista vobis scribimus in cordis amaritudine ab his partibus recedentes, nec prenidicare intendimus salubriori consilio, si vobis cœlitus destinetur, nec latre vos volumus quod nullum per vos invenimus excusationis sufficiens remedium, quo obstante minime debeatis in excors Irnam incidisse pernuntiari: dudum latet in Oxon consilio contra pacis regiæ turbatores, viam autem pacis aliam invenire non possumus, nec adhuc in spe sumus aliud obtinendi. Sed si nobis aliquid consultius videatur agendum, vobis numquam claudemus gremium, nec auxilium denegabimus opportunum. Dat. apud Ruthelan 18 Calend. Decemb. Ann. Dom.

[illegible] autem princeps Walliæ prædictus spretis omnibus oblationibus [illegible] scriptis, invasit hostiliter terram domini regis Angliæ destruendo [illegible]a, nec non homines terræ illius ad se trahendo, et à bonitate [illegible] Qui tamen princeps infra mensem illum ignominosa morte [illegible]cisus est, per familiam domini Cadmundi de mortuo [illegible]ortuo mari; et totus exercitus suus vel occisus, vel [illegible]ntis Gomerici die Veneris proximo, ante Festum [illegible] sub Anno. Dom. 1282. In——decima